



THE
IMPORTANCE
OF THE
AFRICAN EXPEDITION
CONSIDERED.



[Price Two Shillings.]

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At the

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In Honour to the Administration.

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THE
I M P O R T A N C E
OF THE
AFRICAN EXPEDITION
C O N S I D E R E D :
W I T H

COPIES of the MEMORIALS,

As drawn up ORIGINALLY, and presented to the
MINISTRY; to induce them to take Possession of
the FRENCH FORTS and SETTLEMENTS in the
River SENAGAL, as well as all other on the Coast
of AFRICA.

The Whole as planned and designed,

By MALACHY POSTLETHWAYT, Esq;

Author of the Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce.

To which are added,

OBSERVATIONS,
Illustrating the said MEMORIALS,

For the peculiar Benefit and Advantage of all BRITISH
AFRICAN and WEST-INDIA MERCHANTS and
BRITISH PLANTERS, as well as the Kingdom in
general :

With Reasons for GREAT-BRITAIN'S keeping Possession of the
FRENCH AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS, if possible.

Humbly addressed to the BRITISH MINISTRY.

L O N D O N :

Printed by C. SAY, in Newgate-Street; and sold by M. COOPER,
in Pater-noster Row. 1758.

In Answer to the Administration

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IMPORTANCE
OF THE
AFRICAN EXPEDITION
CONSIDERED:
WITH
COPIES of the MEMORIALS,

As drawn up Originally, and presented to the
Ministry; to induce them to take Possession of
the French Ports and Settlements in the
River Senegal, as well as all other on the Coast
of Africa.

The Whole as planned and designed,

By MALACHI POSTLETHWAYT, Esq;
Member of the Honourable Board of Trade and Customs.

To which are added,

OBSERVATIONS
Illustrating the said MEMORIALS,

For the peculiar Benefit and Advantage of all British
African and West-India Merchants and
British Planters, as well as the Kingdom in
general;

With Reasons for Great Britain's keeping Possession of the
French African Settlements, if possible.
Humbly addressed to the British Ministry.

L O N D O N:
Printed by C. Davis, in Newmarket-Street; and sold by M. Cooper,
at Pall-mall in 1758.



T O

THE BRITISH MINISTRY!



I CRAVE permission, with all deference and humility, to do myself the honour to submit the following short tract to your candid consideration. The design is to represent to the *public* the commercial benefits and advantages, that *Great Britain* may derive from the success of his Majesty's arms in *Africa*.

Though this enterprize hath not been attended with any great hazard or expence, and
therefore

therefore with no illustrious eclat to the *British* arms, by reason of the defenceless state of the enemy at the time of execution: yet, I humbly apprehend, that the success of this *commercial expedition* may prove a good step towards obliging the enemy to sue for peace.

The trade of *Africa*, as well to the *French* as the *English*, is the great foundation of their *American* commerce and navigation, as that alone supplies both nations with negroe-labourers to cultivate their *West India* colonies for sugars, indigo, cocoa, cotton, pimento, and all other the estimable productions of the sugar colonies: and the commerce and navigation of *America* being the life and spirit of the *French European* commerce; if *England* strikes at the root of the *French African* trade, she, of course, cuts off the very stamina of the enemies trade and navigation to *Europe* as well as *America*.

Before the present rupture between the two crowns; so great were the unjustifiable encroachments of our rivals upon the *British* rights of trade in *Africa*, as represented in the following

following *memorial*, that, if a war had not fell out in *North America*, it would have been necessary for *England* to have some how checked the insults and growing progress of the *French* in *Africa*: but since the war has taken place, this may be done the more effectually; and, as experience has shewn, without great difficulty.

The *English* making a conquest of the *French* settlements in *Africa*, and rendering *them* as well as their *own* ancient ones, invincible, as they may do; they should seem to have it in their power, even to extirpate the enemy from the whole commerce of this part of the world. The consequence whereof would be, the preventing our competitors from being able to stock their *sugar* and *tobacco* colonies in *America* with negroes, as they have plentifully done: and all the trade and navigation that depend upon those plantations must inevitably suffer in proportion as that of their *African* shall; which must be to an extraordinary degree: since, in such case, it will be impossible for the *Dutch* to supply our rivals, as they have done themselves; and with what negroes they

should

should supply them, they must come considerably dearer than they did at first hand.

But if the fate of war should not oblige the court of *England* to give up the *French* settlements, the whole of the *British African trade*, might, it is humbly apprehended, be so regulated, as to put it out of the power of the *Dutch* to supply the *French* with any negroes. In which case, they could have no expectation of a supply at all; the *Portuguese* having frequently a call for more negroes than they can obtain to work their mines, and cultivate their plantations in *Brazil*.

Nor could the *Spaniards* then be furnished with negroes by the *French*, from *St. Domingo*, as they have been, to work their mines in *Mexico* and *Peru*: they must, on the contrary, be under the necessity of taking the whole of the *English*; and that too upon their own terms; which commerce of itself, regulated by a proper *Assiento*, will prove a very lucrative branch of trade to this kingdom: but when it is considered what immense quantities of the *French* woollen, filken and gold and silver lace manufactures,

tures, have been conveyed into the *Spanish West Indies*, under cover of the negroe-trade, the prevention thereof will not only greatly benefit the whole fair *British* commerce from *Old Spain* to *New*, but proportionally advantage the royal revenue of *Spain*, and tend to cement a lasting friendship between the courts of *London* and *Madrid* upon principles reciprocally interesting.

Moreover, the success in *Africa* may greatly contribute to the ruin of the *Asiatic* commerce of *France*; seeing their trade of *Africa* is wholly carried on by means of their *East India company*, and is not less beneficial to them than their trade to *Asia*. For this company being upheld by every politic aid, have long figured it amongst the *Africans*; and, by virtue of their *exclusive* privilege, and other great immunities, they have obliged the *Africans*, within their own power, to take what they please to give them for their slaves, their gold, their gums, and their ivory, &c. while they enhance the price of their own commodities upon the natives as they think proper; they having had no competitors, within their pre-

tended limits, either by their own separate traders, or by those of other nations; for although they have barefacedly intruded on our rights of trade, and raised the price of negroes, gold, and all other *African* commodities upon the *English* coast; yet they have not suffered *British* ships to approach their settlements. Whence it appears, that by destroying the *French African trade*, the *English* will free themselves from a most detrimental rival; and thereby have it in their power to lower the price of negroes, gold, and all other articles from 50 *per cent.* and upwards: which must prove of no less benefit to our *British* planters, than to all our *African* and *West India* merchants, and owners of shipping, as well as to all our manufacturers, artificers and others any way connected with, and interested in those important branches of our trade and navigation.

The direct trade from *France* to *Africa*, by the barter of *French* produce and manufactures for gold and other valuable productions, is very considerable to the company, as they engross the whole of it. This commerce takes
off

off great quantities of their *East India* commodities at their own prices; and the company's gains, by the sale of negroes, to the *French sugar Islands*, and their *tobacco colonies* upon the *Mississippi*, as well as to the *Spanish Indies* from *St. Domingo*, must also be very large: the profits of this monopoly upon the whole *French* trade of *Africa*, together with the immunities they enjoy, have been moderately computed at above *five hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum*: others have reckoned them considerably more. It is, therefore, not to be admired, that the actions of the *French East India company*, have been declining ever since we have become masters of their *African* settlements. This also may contribute soon to give a great blow to the *public credit* of *France* in general, if *England* maintains her new acquisitions, and makes that use of them, she should seem to have in her power.

But the gains of the *French India* company by their *African* trade, bear but a small proportion to the total profits arising to our enemies, by means of their *African* commerce in general, when considered in various lights and connections

with their other branches. For to make a computation with any degree of accuracy, we must take into consideration the gains of their *West India* merchants, their *planters*, their *manufactures*, and all who are any way interested in the trade, the shipping, and navigation of the *French sugar Islands* to and from *Old France* and *America*; as likewise from *America* to all the *European* markets, which the *French* have supplied with sugars, indigo, &c. at the expence of the *English*.—And the account will still be very deficient, if we do not add to it the profits made by the *French* sugar islands, in their traffic with the *British* northern colonies for rum and molasses to the detriment also of our own sugar plantations. Nor should it be forgot, that there is a very beneficial commercial intercourse between the *French* northern colonies and their *sugar islands*.

And, after all, the calculation will be incomplete, if we omit the advantages obtained by our enemies in their trade from *St. Domingo* to the *Spanish West Indies* in all the rich manufactures of *France*, independent of the negroes commerce

commerce carried on by their company from *Africa* to *St. Domingo* only.

If these accumulated profits be computed, the whole accruing to the *French* from these various branches of trade and navigation, which depend on their *sugar Islands*; and these wholly on their *AFRICAN COMMERCE*; they cannot be presumed (exclusive of the gains of their *East India* company by the *African* trade) to amount to near so little as *two millions sterling per annum*. Many have reckoned them considerably more.

If all these beneficial connections of the *French* commerce and navigation be at once broke in upon, and may be effectually destroyed by depriving them of their *African* settlements; this expedition must be looked upon as a great commercial, though no great military eclat to the *British* nation; and as it will so greatly contribute to lop off the sinews of war from our enemies, it may so shorten it, as to save millions of treasure to *England*, as well as ten thousands of lives that cannot be spared.

The

The great nursery for seamen that those divers maritime branches of the *French* trade occasion, is a consideration not of less consternation to *France* than joy to *Britain*; as we may deprive the royal navy of our enemies of all support from thence derived.

As the utility of any thing is most sensibly felt by its want; so we may best judge of the *French* loss in *Africa*, by conceiving other nations or ourselves to sustain the like, whose dependance is not less on this trade than that of *France*. The *Brazil* commerce of the kingdom of *Portugal*, is its principal support: and that depends upon their *African* settlements; which furnish them with negroes to work their gold and diamond mines, and their plantations in those colonies. If the *Portuguese* were dispossessed of their footing in *Africa*, and could have negroes no where else, their rich fleets from *Rio de Janeiro* would cease, and *Portugal* soon be undone. The like event happening to the *Dutch* would not prove such a shock to their affairs, they having no colonies in *America* which thus depend upon their trade in *Africa*:

Africa : but if *France* was in the state of *England*, and had turned her out of *Africa* as she has done *France* ; and this nation could have no negroes for the cultivation of her sugar and tobacco colonies, we should judge those branches of our commerce in a state of ruin, unless we could supply the place of *blacks* by *whites* ; which, if practicable, it might be long and ruinous before the experiment could be made to answer, if ever it effectually should. *France* imagined thus successful, would soon fortify and become invincible in *Africa* ; and would, doubtless, next think of cutting off all supply of negroes to *England* by the *Dutch* ; which they might easily do ; and to accomplish all this, the object would be irresistibly inviting, when they were convinced, that this blow to the *English* commerce would enable them to take between *two and three millions sterling* at least *per annum* out of the *British* commercial coffers, and draw them into her own. — As *England* has *France* at present no less in her power : as she may take between *two and three millions yearly* out of the *French* gain, and add to her own ; the greatest share of the trade and navigation

navigation of *France*, may be said to be in her power; whence it should seem, that nothing could manifest more the wisdom and policy of his Majesty's councils at this juncture, than striking directly at the great root of the principal part of all the mercantile commerce and navigation of our enemies: for if the war continues two or three years more, and *France* should not be able to regain her *African* settlements, nor hurt ours there, or in *America*: if the event of war should not oblige *Great Britain* to give up her conquests in *Africa*, but, on the contrary, she shall be capable of holding them, as a pledge for the future behaviour of *France* towards *Great Britain* in *North America*, and elsewhere; this new accession of commerce to *England*, will, in few years, repay her the *whole expence of the present war*; which our enemies have occasioned.—Thus may *France* be reduced to a low ebb, in consequence of an expedition executed without the expence either of *blood, or of treasure*; and this is more to the glory of *England* than if it had been otherwise, however mean and simple the enterprize to some may appear. Nor is it
uncommon

uncommon to observe, that the divine providence makes use of the simplest means, as well as the meanest instruments to bring about great events. And indeed experience has shewn; and the greatest and wisest men will not disallow, but private persons of mean understandings have stumbled upon things that have escaped the notice of great sages and the ablest statesmen.

And here I would humbly pray leave, with the most perfect duty and submission, to crave your attention a moment longer; in relation to another affair of still far greater importance to the interest and glory of his Majesty and his kingdom: which is, the reducing the power of *France* in *Europe* as well as in *America*: for if we should prove unsuccessful nearer home, we shall be compelled, as we have too often been, to give up our distant acquisitions for the immediate security of the mother-kingdoms. To prevent in time any necessity for this, will, doubtless, be as acceptable as it is important: and the humble proposer hopes for all grace, candour and indulgence from the guardians of the public safety and the promoters

promoters of the prosperity and happiness of the nation; when he desires the honour to lay a matter of that high concernment before his Majesty's ministers of state.

Observing how beneficial *neutral states* in general, and even our ancient allies the *Dutch* in particular, are to the trade and navigation of our enemies: and fearing that the resentment justly shewn by the court of *England* on this occasion, may be attended with consequences detrimental and injurious both to *Great Britain* and *Holland*, whose interests ought to be united and inseparable against *France*, according to the sentiments of our wisest statesmen: the writer hereof humbly apprehends, that he has happily fallen upon certain measures which promise fair in all human probability, to answer the following purposes, *viz.*

I. To deprive *France* of the benefits their trade receives by the *neutrality* of the *Dutch*, and *some others*: and this without giving any umbrage to such *neutral states*, or occasioning any misunderstanding between them and *Great Britain*, by the measures proposed to be submitted to consideration.

II. To

II. To reduce *France* and *Spain*, if she should ally with our enemies at this juncture, to sue for peace upon terms very beneficial and honourable to *Great Britain* and her allies; and this upon principles scarce liable to miscarry.

III. To accomplish the same without any greater expence to *England* for continental connections than her own equitable quota, as a maritime power; she being obliged to pay no subsidies to any state whatever upon the continent.

IV. To give effectual support to the *King of Prussia*, and his Majesty's German dominions, and prevent the former from being compelled to make any peace without the concurrence of *Great Britain* and her allies.

This is the substance of what I would most humbly desire permission to have the honour to lay before you: and it is not to be doubted, but your distinguished equity, wisdom, candour and benevolence, will induce you to judge favourably

favourably of the good intentions of a private man; a loyal subject of his Majesty, whose zeal in the service of his country will not lead him to presume to lay any thing before the King's ministers that is frivolous, and beneath their attention.

However extraordinary this attempt may appear; yet, as it is founded on principles of policy similar to those, which have been adopted, by the greatest statesmen in all ages; nothing can prove it impossible but the full trial and experiment; and that made with all the address requisite on such an occasion. I have the honour to be

With the most perfect duty and submission,

Your most humble,

Most obedient,

GRAY'S INN,
Aug. 8, 1758.

And most devoted servant,

Malachy Postlethwayt.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

*By cutting off the rivalship of the French
B in the whole African trade, our mer-
chants have it in their power, not only
greatly to reduce the price of negroes,
but of gold, and all other valuable commodities,
which this commerce affords; provided the proper
measures shall be taken for that purpose.*

*The French trade in the river Senagal, and
at Arguin, and the Isle of Gorée, having been
carried on by the French East India Company,
with an exclusive privilege, the company have
purchased negroes, and all other merchandize
within their own limits at what price they pleased;
suffering no rivalship from the separate traders of
their own, or foreign nations.*

*The English, on the contrary, having many
years had an African Company, with a free and
open trade; and the company bidding against the
British separate traders, and those traders also
against each other, as well as the French rival-
ling them all, by usurping on the British rights of
trade, even to their very forts and castles; have
rose the price of negroes and all valuable merchan-*

dize upon the English to a very great height: all which has proved of unspeakable detriment to the whole British African commerce.

The English being now possessed of the French African settlements, they will naturally flock into the French part of this trade; and by bidding sanguinely against each other, will raise the price of commodities as high here as they are upon the Gold Coast; unless those traders should fall upon the requisite expedient to prevent it: which I take the liberty to hint for the peculiar advantage of our British traders, whose interest I have always endeavoured zealously to promote, consistent with that of the nation.

Having formerly had greater opportunities than most, of being well acquainted with the African trade, as carried on by all the European states, who have forts and settlements for that purpose; I did, during the last war, point out to the public, in various writings*, as well as to a certain great minister of state in private, the extraordinary encroachments which the French had made in Africa before that war. I had then also the honour to present to a certain great man many things

* See the importance of effectually supporting the Royal African Company of England, &c. in a Letter to a Member of the House of Commons, printed for E. Say; and sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-lane, 1745.

See also another treatise, entitled, *The national and private Advantages of the African Trade considered, &c.* inscribed to the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, printed in the year 1746, for J. and P. Knapton.

for the general benefit of this commerce; and to propose likewise the taking possession of the French African Forts and Settlements; but being informed the peace was too far advanced, it could not then be executed.

*The strengthening the English in Africa, and improving the whole of this commerce at the expence of our great competitors therein, appearing to me an object of high concernment to these kingdoms; I again wrote largely upon this subject after the last war, in my Dictionary of Commerce, to induce our traders to turn their thoughts upon making far greater advantages by this trade than they have yet ever done.**

At the breaking out of the present war, I naturally recurred to the favourite subject, and endeavoured to obtain the best intelligence I could of the most recent encroachments the enemy had made upon our commerce in Africa, and what was the strength of their forts and settlements. In my enquiries, I met, among others, with a very intelligent gentleman, who had resided many years at our English settlements in Africa, but had never been at any of the French Forts. He, however, answered some of my questions satisfactorily, others he could not; but I obtained information of various, and then drew up a memorial, according to the intelligence that I judged might be depended on. And as the gentleman, who had resided in

** I can easily refer to many places in my Dictionary, and my other writings, where the African Expedition, is plainly enough pointed out.*

Africa was experienced in the customs and dispositions of the negroe-chiefs, and zealous in the interest of England, I endeavoured to prevail with him to undertake a certain affair that would have forwarded this expedition, and tended far more to the commercial interest of this kingdom in Africa, than I chose to let him, or any one else know, 'till every thing was ripe for the purpose intended: but that gentleman's affairs calling him otherways, this part of the design was postponed; but I never lost sight of the expedition to Africa against the French settlements, and to that end took the following measures.

When I first resolved on this matter, I made no secret of it to some noble persons, whom I had frequently the honour to visit, and who had connections with some of the chiefs in the administration: and I shewed the Memorial above three years and an half ago to a certain noble Lord of the same family, who did me the honour to come frequently to my house to converse with me upon the subjects of commerce and the public revenue.

My reason for speaking freely of the African affair in this noble family, was in hopes, that some in the ministry would do me the honour to have called for it through their channel; as several other affairs of importance had been communicated to the ministry in the same way. But something falling cut, with regard to my private affairs, and the ministry becoming daily more and more divided, when I judged it a proper time to carry the expedition

dition into execution ; I determined that my intentions notwithstanding should not be stifled ; and therefore put the affair above three years ago, into the hands of an honourable person, a member of the House of Commons, a perfect judge of the matter, and who had weight enough to make the proper use of it with the ministry for the public service ; and who assured me that he would.

The execution, however, being postponed much longer than I apprehended a matter of such consequence would be ; I resolved, after the miscarriage at Rochfort to draw up a second Memorial, entitling it a commercial expedition, &c. with additional motives to engage the attention of the ministry. Accordingly I did, and presented the same last January to a noble personage of the first distinction ; requesting his —— to put the same, if he judged it deserving, into the hands of such of the ministry as he thought proper, lest it should again be too late in the year for execution.

My request having the honour to be readily complied with, and having then done all in my power, as a private person, to forward the expedition, I concerned myself no more about it, till I saw its success in the Gazette. Not knowing to which of the Memorials, or whether to the joint weight of both, the execution of the affair was owing ; I wrote a congratulatory letter to the honourable person to whom I had presented the first Memorial out of my hands above three years ago, he being many miles distant from me ; and he answered me with
an

an honourable acknowledgment of the fact; adding, that a certain great minister of state had wrote to him about the success, and was as sensible, as he is pleased to express it, of the importance of the affair as himself or I was——with many obliging expressions, with regard to my zeal in the public service. Upon which, I judged it perfectly consistent with the support of the PUBLIC CREDIT at this time, to set the importance of this expedition in its proper light, and therefore I determined so to do in a small treatise on the subject.

As I have wrote so copiously upon the African trade in my Dictionary of Commerce, it might naturally excite many people to engage therein; and if the Ministry countenanced any private views of trade, in order to render the African expedition the more successful, it shews the great wisdom of the administration in so doing.

Ministers of state being so liable to be imposed upon by partial representations, they cannot have too much information from every quarter upon the same subject, and that in all possible lights wherein they can obtain it: But the man disengaged entirely from any private views of trade, is less liable to misrepresent things to Ministers, than those who are not: And I am willing to hope that my Memorials demonstrate, I had nothing at heart but the public prosperity and honour; no private lucrative schemes of trade whatever, not that such in the present case, are incompatible with the public interest:

terest :— And if my national Memorials had a tendency to forward any such private schemes of trade, I am heartily glad of it ; such interested persons ought to be thankful, not abusive to those who meant to encourage them.— If they have reaped their African golden harvest ; why should they envy Mr. Postlethwayt, receiving some advantage from the public purse for his public service ?

Mr. Postlethwayt could have been, was he so disposed, easily concerned with some of the most eminent merchants in this kingdom, in a very lucrative scheme of private trade to Africa, by virtue of his national Memorial, and can still if he pleases ; but he judged, that such a private interested scheme, might have been so looked upon in the eye of the Ministry, as to obstruct the public service he aimed at ; and therefore he waved all views of this kind, that no objection might be made to the pure national service, by him intended ; he expecting his recompence in another way.

*Able and upright Ministers are always ready and willing to receive intelligence of importance in every shape ; and if several more, besides myself, have given any useful information upon this African concern, it is ridiculous in them to be jealous, and invidious of each other ; when it is presumed that wise statesmen know how to reward every one suitable to his merit. That I had no view to hurt any one, is well enough known to the proper judges. And my Memorials testify
that*

that I aimed at encouraging private trade as much as possible.

That the kingdom in general, as well as all private traders, may reap the full benefit and advantage of my endeavours; I have given myself the further trouble to draw up this tract: Nor is this all that I desire the honour to lay before the administration, with relation to the African Trade, if this shall be satisfactorily received, as I have no doubt but it will.



The following is a copy of the
ORIGINAL MEMORIAL, *as drawn up*
soon after THE BREAKING OUT OF
THE WAR, *and presented by Mr.*
Postlethwayt *to induce the Ministry*
to undertake the EXPEDITION *against*
the FRENCH AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS
in the RIVER SENAGAL, *and others*
on that coast.

Upon the miscarriage of the Expedition
to Rochfort, Mr. Postlethwayt presented the
following memorial again in January last,
with additional motives, not proper to be made
public, to induce the Ministry to undertake the
African expedition.

THE MEMORIAL.

BEFORE the *French Sugar colonies*
B flourished, *England supplied France*
with a great part of the sugars for
their home consumption."

Since the *French sugar colonies* have flourished, the *French* have not only supplied themselves with sugars, but have greatly sup-
B planted

planted the *English* in most of the sugar trade of *Europe*."

The trade of the *French* sugar colonies depends on the following distinct Branches of trade. (1) Upon the trade from *Old France* to *Africa*, by means of the *French East India Company*: (2) Upon the trade from *Africa* to the *French sugar islands*, to supply them with *negroes*, &c. (3) Upon the *West India* trade to and from *Old France*. (4) Upon the trade to and from the *French sugar islands* and their continent colonies in *North America*. (5) Upon the trade of the *French* sugar islands with the *English* northern colonies. (6) Upon the trade of the *French* sugar islands to and from divers parts of *Europe*, which the *French* supply with sugars that the *English* did. (7) Upon the supply of the *Spanish West Indies* with *African negroes*, by the way of *St. Domingo*; whereby the *French* do, in effect, reap all the benefits of an *Asiento contract* with *Spain*; (the *English* being now deprived of it) and by virtue of supplying the *Spaniards* with *negroes* do, at the same time, supply them clandestinely with immense quantity of *French* woollen, filken, and other commodities, to the unspeakable detriment of the fair *British* trade, by way of *Old Spain* to *New Spain*.

From the foregoing *French* branches of trade, arising solely from their *African* and *West Indian* trades, which depend on each other for their mutual support, the *French* have, since the Peace of *Utrecht*, increased their

their commerce, their mercantile navigation, and their royal marine beyond the belief of most: and the produce and trade of their sugar islands daily increasing in divers other productions besides sugar (as indico, cocoa, cotton, &c.) must daily strengthen the maritime power of *France*, unless now, in time of war, *England* takes effectual means to stop their progress.

This increase of the commerce, navigation and maritime strength of *France* has been chiefly owing to their *African* trade, as carried on by their *East India* company; which is so regulated as to supply them with negroe slaves more plentifully and far cheaper than the *English* can do their *sugar colonies*; whereby the *French* increase in their *West India* Trade, while the *English* daily decline in theirs.

Before the *French* got possession of the forts upon the Coast of *Africa*, in the river *Senagal*, and on the islands of *Arguin* and *Gorée*, the *English* traded freely and uninterruptedly to all places on the said coast. Since the *French* have possessed the said Forts, they have not only absolutely excluded the *British* nation from those parts, and taken and confiscated all *British* Ships as have ventured to trade there, but have traded as uninterruptedly, in time of peace, within the *British* rights and privileges, and under the nose of *our* forts, as under *their* own.

That part of the coast from whence the *French* have absolutely excluded the *British* nation from trading, is called the *Gum-Coast*,

which extends from *Cape Blanco* to the river *Gambia*, which is above 500 miles.

So beneficial is the gum trade in general, that we have a recent instance of two merchants of the city of *London*, (*viz.* Messrs. *I—* and *F.*) who gained above 10,000*l.* by a loading of *gum Senagal*, which they obtained last year on this coast; the first cost of which cargo on the outset did not amount to 1000*l.*

This *gum senagal* is of such important value to the *French*, that it appears from the registers of the council of state, there passed an arret of the *French* king's council of Nov. 2, in the year 1751, which prohibits all *gum senagal* being exported out of the kingdom for one year, under the penalty of confiscation, and a fine of 300 *livres*. The reason of such prohibition was, that this *African* gum is an exceeding useful material in divers capital *French* manufactures; such as their silks and other fabricks, which require a glossy lustre to recommend them to foreign nations; and this gum is no less useful in *ours*, and therefore the *French* have monopolized it. The other particular places on the *African* coast, where the *French* have many years, in times of peace, intrenched on the *British* rights and privileges of commerce, are at *Anamaboe*, on the gold coast, and at *Whydah*, where the *English* long enjoyed the sole right of trade, by virtue of *William's Fort*.

In the river *Sierraleone* also, on the *African* coast, the *French* have, within these few years, pretended

pretended to a right of trade, where they have no *Fort* at all, and where the *English* have *Bence Island*. To such an unjustifiable degree have the *French* of late years, in time of peace, carried their encroachments in this river, that they have had the confidence to fire upon *British* ships that have the sole right of trade here; and have endeavoured to *exclude* the *English* no less from the trade of this river, than they have done from that of the whole Gum-coast: the reason of which is, that the trade of this river is very improveable.

The *French* likewise have, in time of peace, attempted to settle themselves in the river *Sherbro'* on the coast of *Africa*, where the *English* have the right of trade. The motive to which is, by reason that *Slaves*, *Gold*, *Ivory*, *Bees-wax*, and divers excellent Woods for Dyeing (especially that valuable wood called *Cam-wood*) are to be had cheaply and plentifully: another reason is, because here are a good river, a secure harbour for shipping, and a great plenty of good provisions. Nor should it be forgot, that the *Cam-wood* (which is extremely useful in the dyeing of our woollen and filken manufactures of various fashionable colours, which take with foreign nations) is to be had nowhere else in any quantities; which renders it no less valuable to the *English* than the *Logwood* is for dyeing of Blacks and Blues.

To

To secure this important river of *Sherbro*, the *French* also have attempted lately* to settle at the *Bannana Islands*, near the mouth of the river *Sherbro*; which, as it is a very wholesome situation, is certainly well judged to answer their intention.

Nor have the projected encroachments of the *French* in *Africa*, in time of peace, ended here. They have attempted, before the war broke out, to settle themselves, even at the *Cape de Verde Islands*, though they belong to the *Portuguese*; but the *Portuguese* instantly sent a ship of some force to watch their motions; yet the *French* had art enough to pacify them. But,

This intended settlement of the *French* at the *Cape de Verde Islands*, at such a conjuncture, could be hardly done with a view to give umbrage to the *Portuguese*: Your Memorialist apprehends it has been done rather with a view to have it more in their power to annoy the *English*; because their *men of war* occasionally, and their *East India ships* constantly touch at the *Cape de Verde Islands* for water, &c.

By virtue of *James Fort* belonging to the *English* in the river *Gambia*, this nation long possessed the sole and uninterrupted right to the trade of this river: but so greatly have the *French* intruded on our trade here in time of peace, that, by means of their fort *Albreda*,

* That was at the first breaking out of the present war, when this Memorial was drawn up.

erected towards the north side of the *Gambia*, without molestation, they have shared a great part of the trade of this river with the *English*. And moreover, as a branch of the *Senagal* river, possessed by the *French*, comes into the river *Gambia*, the *French*, by means of this communication, and their *Fort Joseph*, in the said river *Senagal*, cut off the *English* trade from up the river *Gambia*, and thereby render the *English* settlement at *James Fort* proportionably useless.

By means of the *African Trade*, the *French* have reaped the following advantages :

1. They have, by dint of *Negro-labour*, brought their *Sugar Islands* to such state, as not only to supply themselves with *sugars*, and other *West India* commodities, but to supplant the *English* from those trades at all the markets in *Europe*.

2. They have been enabled, by this trade, to settle the *Neutral Islands* of *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Dominica* and *Tobago*, by supplying them with a number of *negroe slaves* to cultivate *West India* productions, and fit them for the defence of those islands, by means of whites to controul them.

3. By virtue of this trade, they have greatly upheld the credit of their *East India Company*; which has the *exclusive* right in the *French African*, as well as their *East India* commerce.

4. By means of their *African Trade*, and the above observed encroachments, the *French*
have

have raised the price of Negroes upon the *English* on many parts of the coast, from 6 *l.* and 7 *l.* ~~per~~ head to 20 *l.* and 30 *l.* ~~per~~ head : and although this rise in the price upon the *English* greatly affects the *English* trade, it does not affect the *French*, by reason of the extraordinary bounties, privileges and immunities, which the *French* government allows for the encouragement of their *African* commerce ; besides the exclusive privilege to the company therein concerned : which considered, together with their encroachments, have enabled the *French* so greatly to supplant us in this branch of the trade, as well as that of the whole *Sugar Trade* of *Europe*.

5. By means of their *African* trade, and the close connection *That* has with their *West India* trade, they have in a great measure upheld the trade and public credit of their *East India* company.

How dependent the *French* themselves have long judged their *Sugar Colonies* to be upon their *African* trade, appears by a *Memorial* presented by the deputies of *The Council of Commerce* in *France* to *The Royal Council of State*, so long ago as the year 1701 ; from which *Era*, and attention to the said memorial, we may date the prosperity of the *French Sugar Islands*, and other branches of their commerce dependent on their *American* colonies.

“ Le commerce de Guinée, say the memorialists, est si relatif à celui des Îles
“ Fran-

“ Françoises de l’Amerique, que l’un ne sçau-
 “ roit subsister sans l’autre : par ces commerce
 “ nous avons retranché à nos concurrens les
 “ grands profits qu’ils faisoient sur nous, &
 “ nous pouvons les augmenter considerable-
 “ ments, puisque celle nation dans les isles,
 “ *avec moins d’avantage que nous*, dans un ter-
 “ *rain moins estendu*, & dans beaucoup moins
 “ de temps, a trouvé le moyen, d’occuper
 “ toutes les années plus de 500 *vaisseaux*,
 “ pendant que nous avons beaucoup de peine
 “ d’en occuper une centaine.

“ Tout le monde connoit l’utilité de la
 “ marine, & que la tranquillité, & la gloire
 “ d’un estat en depend tres souvent : on sçait
 “ que le commerce ne peut subsister que par
 “ elle : la fortune de negociants y est toujours
 “ attachée, elle fait vivre un tres grand nom-
 “ bre de sujets, matelots, & artisans. *Per-*
 “ *sonne n’ignore que la navigation de la France*
 “ *ne doive au commerce de ses isles tout son éclat,*
 “ *qu’elle ne peut se soutenir, & s’augmenter que*
 “ *par luy.*

“ Ce commerce est sans doute, de tous les
 “ commerce de long cours que les François font,
 “ le plus utile à l’etat ; parceque qu’il se fait
 “ sans transport d’argent, sans secours des denrées,
 “ & des manufactures étrangers, & que il n’y
 “ a que les sujets du roy & du royaume qui en
 “ profitent.”

This was not only the judgment of the
 most experienced and impartial traders in
 France, but of the greatest statesmen in that
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kingdom; and their steady regard to these principles ever since, and their prosperous consequences, prove, beyond doubt, the wisdom and policy of their measures.

Your Memorialist humbly prays leave next to shew, the use that, he apprehends, may be made of the foregoing faithful representation, to the interest and honour of his *Britannic Majesty*, at the present conjuncture of public affairs.

From the foregoing FACTS, it is apparent, that the *French* have not been less solicitous to increase their trade and dominion in *Africa*, than in *America*: and since the whole dependance of *France* for the preservation and increase of her Sugar, and Continent Colonies in *America*, is upon her *African Commerce*: and since it is no less manifest, that the whole support of the latter depends chiefly upon the *French forts and settlements* established on the coast of *Africa*; especially on that upon the *Island of Gorée*, and the other called *Fort Louis*, in the river *Senagal* before observed: it is most humbly submitted: Whether here does not present a favourable prospect of retrieving our losses in *Europe*, as well as *America*, by dispossessing the *French* of their *African Settlements*: and whether such a successful MARITIME EXPEDITION will not strike at the root of the commerce of the FRENCH SUGAR COLONIES in *America*, and thereby also more effectually at the root of their NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES, than any other measures that
can

can be taken by the court of Great Britain, and that at FAR LESS EXPENCE to the nation, as well as being attended with less hazard than any other EXPEDITION whatever? And whether our success in Africa may not have a happier tendency to ruin the French East India Company, and destroy its public credit, at less expence than any other measure? And since so great a proportion of the European trade of France, as has been shewn, depends upon their African and American trades; it is in the power of England to injure the French in their whole trade and navigation, in any MARITIME EXPEDITION so much as by this, if wisely and successfully conducted?

Upon the success of this *African Expedition*, what would really prove the state of the *French East India Company*, and of their public credit in general, may be judged, from the state it was reduced to in the last war. For although, at the beginning of that war, the *French India Company* did not seem to be affected so much as might be expected, by what they suffered, their dividends being regularly paid, which upheld their credit so, that at Christmas 1744, their *actions* were at 2000: yet notwithstanding appearances, the war increasing the expence of *France*, on the one hand, and lessening her revenues on the other, the secret at length came out: *Monf. Orry*, the comptroller-general of the finances, being obliged to acquaint the directors of the company, that the king's affairs were so circumstanced as not to permit him longer to supply

the company in the manner he had hitherto done; so that now they were to stand upon their *own bottom*, and carry on their trade for the future as well as they could.

This reduced the Actions to 800, and brought on a suspension of the company's dividends, and thereby gave a severe stroke to the *public credit of France*: and although the injury the company received by *Commodore Barnet* in the *East Indies*, and the loss of their ships we took at *Cape Breton*, contributed to reduce the company: yet, if we had the like success now, it would not contribute nearly so much to the ruin of the *French India Company*, and their trade in general, *as disposing them of their Forts and Settlements in Africa*; because this would so hurt their affairs in *America*, as well as *Africa* and *Europe*, whereon their commercial dependance lies, more than merely in *Asia*, as to oblige them to make a good peace, more than any other single measure that can, perhaps, be taken by the court of *England*. Besides, *Africa* being so much nearer home than *Asia* or *North America*, we might, in the last war, by possessing ourselves of the *French African Settlements* *, have done more than we did to

* Mr. *Postlethwayt* proposed to a certain honourable person the taking of the *French African Settlements* in the last war, and several other affairs relating to the *British African* commerce, which would have produced some millions to this nation before now.—But it being signified to him, that the peace was too far advanced to think of any thing of that kind (and which proved to be true) he believes that was the only reason why such design was not then carried into execution.

have ruined the trade of *France* in general, and that of their *East India* company in particular; at one half the expence we were at in the *East Indies* for the purpose of the latter: and by thus distressing the company, we might probably have prevented *Madras* from being taken. Moreover, the *French East India* ships outward bound, always touching at their *African settlements*; if they were stripped of them, they would be deprived of this advantageous convenience; and their outset thereby rendered more expensive and precarious in time of war; and especially so, when *England* might by * * * *

Your memorialist prays leave further to consider the probability of the success of the intended expedition, by giving the best account that he has been able to obtain of the situation of the *French* forts and settlements in *Africa*; and especially the two principal ones, viz. that on the island of *Gorée*, and the other of *Fort Louis* in the river *Senagal*; for, if these fall into the *British* Hands, that of *Arguin* and the other smaller dependent forts must fall of course.

And first with respect to *Fort Louis*, in the river *Senagal*—Previous to which it may be necessary to give some account of the said river. According to *Monf. Labat*, who is reckoned to have given the most exact state thereof, the course of the *Senagal* is above 800 leagues from east to west from the lake *Bûrnû*, where he says, it rises to within two leagues and one half of the western ocean. But historians

rians being divided about the extent of this river, your memorialist will not dwell on any thing but what immediately concerns the success of the enterprize.

The mouth of this river is about half a league broad, but is shut by a BANK OF LAND OR BAR, caused by the great quantities of sand brought by the current, and drove there by the sea. This bar is doubly dangerous, as it has little water on it; and every year shifts its place with the violent floods that come down the river at the time of its inundation. And, indeed, the entrance of this river would be impracticable, if the strength of the tide and force of the current did not open two passages; the largest of which is commonly 150, or 200 fathom broad, and about two fathom water: so that it will admit only BARKS of 40 or 50 tons. The smaller passage is only for CANOES. These openings change their situations almost every year; so that the *island of Senagal*, or *Fort Louis*, is sometimes four leagues from the *bar*, at other times but two. This inconvenience, which prevents ships of 400 or 500 tons burthen from entering the river and landing their goods (for which purpose the *French India* company keep suitable BARKS) is a good security to *Fort Louis*, and renders it impossible to enter the river without good pilots: whereby the *French* seem to enjoy their trade up this river unmolested, and without fear of a rival.

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Your memorialist desires leave to observe that the properest time for crossing the BAR is from *January* to *August*, the winds being then variable, and the tides running north. The best of these Months are *April*, *May*, *June* and *July*. The worst season is from *September* to the end of *December*, the east winds then bringing a great swell, and making trade impracticable.

After crossing the BAR, you find a broad river, from 18 to 25 feet deep, the water clear and smooth, and its current as agreeable as the entrance dangerous. Two leagues above the BAR lies a channel, which goes up to the village of *Byurst*. It incloses two small islands; the nearest the small river is called the *Bokos*. The isle of *Blogba* lies behind that of *Bokos*, nearer the main.—Between the isle of *Bokos*, and the great isle of *Biferta*, is an oblong island of five or six leagues in circumference, called the isle of *John Barr*. The west side of it lies on the main branch of the *Senagal*, and belongs to the negro-chiefs, viz. *John Barr* and *Yansek*, who have a village on it. The first of these is hereditary interpreter to the *French* company at *Fort Louis*. Opposite to the isle of *Bokos* is a little isle, about a quarter of a mile long, called by the *French* the *Isle aux Anglois*, or the *English Isle*, it being formerly possessed by the *English* as well as that of *Fort Louis*.—About three quarters of a league higher up the *Senagal*, lies the *Isle of Senagal*, or *Fort Louis*,

Louis, the residence of the *French* director general of the company.

The Isle of *Senagal* lies 16 degrees, 5 min. north latitude, in the middle of the river of the same name; and two, three or four leagues from the mouth of the river, according to the variations of the *BAR*, as before observed. Some have reckoned it about a league in circumference.

According to the best information your memorialist has been able to obtain, there remain only four *old towers* of the ancient *Fort Louis*, each of them round, and about 20 feet diameter: they form an obtuse quadrangle; the two middle ones being four toises* and an half distance, and those at the head 11:—They are well built in the antique way, and covered each with a pyramidal roof of tiles. They have been since joined with walls, and inclosed in a fortification of pallisadoes, terrassed with earth; beneath which lie the magazines, with some ill-constructed bastions: so that this fort, upon the whole, does not appear to be of any strength, unless *by its natural situation*.

The best information that your memorialist has been able to obtain is, that there are 40 guns mounted on several batteries, with a good magazine of small arms and ammunition: how many men they may have in garrison at present, your memorialist has not been able to learn satisfactorily.

* A Toise is six Feet, or one Fathom *English*.

Ten or twelve leagues above *Fort Louis* lies a point of land, where the fertility of the soil has induced the negroes to build seven or eight villages; the chief of which is called *Buksar*. The further you go on from the sea, the country on the river seems more fruitful, and well improved. It abounds in maize, which is a never failing commodity here.

The Isle of *Biferte* is about 20 leagues long, and 8 in the broadest part. The soil throughout is rich and fruitful; the inundations of the *Senagal* contributing greatly thereto. It not only abounds in maize of both kinds, but also in rice, pulse, tobacco and indico. Wheat thrives well here after the second crop. Cotton trees likewise grow in plenty. Here are vast meadows, which feed large herds of great and small cattle, all excellent in their kind. Poultry are numerous as well as wild fowl; such as partridges, wood-pigeons, and pintados in droves. Besides forests, there are great woods of palm-trees; and the villages that lie thick on the river, shew the country is well peopled.

In proceeding up the river *Senagal* on the left hand, the first remarkable place is *Serimpata*, or *Serimfalli*; where the river, which has lain north and south, alters its course to east and west. Between this place and *Buksar* is pasture ground, where the moors come in dry seasons to feed their camels and other cattle, for which they pay a tribute to the *Brack*. Some leagues above *Serimpata*, on the north side of the river lies the desert; a place fa-

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mous for being the *mart of the gum trade*, so valuable as above signified.

Two leagues higher lies *Ingberbel*, the residence of the great *Brack*, king of *Hoval*. On the south side a river discharges itself into the *Senagal*, called the *Portuguese* river, about 17 leagues from the Mouth of the *Senagal*. This river is about five or six leagues long; its banks planted with trees, and adorned with villages; and the soil is as fertile as the natives are lazy.

A little higher on the north side the *Senagal* receives the *Marigot*, or rivulet of *Kayor*, which issues from the lake of the same name. This lake lies about 50 leagues from *Fort Louis*, and is occasioned by the overflowings of the river.

On the left side of the river leading to it, and three leagues from the *Senagal*, is the village of *Grain*, governed by a negroe grandee, subject to the great *Brack*. The country here is agreeable and well cultivated. Four leagues higher up on the right side lies the village of *Queda*, subject to the *Seratic*, king of the *Fulis*. There is no passing further than this village in the dry season, on account of the reeds that choak up that part of the river, which communicates with the lake.

Some leagues higher up the *Senagal* lies a small isle called *Menage*, which is fertile and agreeable. Five leagues higher, on the same side, lies the village called the *Cock*, opposite to the east end of the isle of *Morsil*, or *Ivory Island*.

Island. This isle is 40 leagues long, and from three to six broad.

The country to the south of the river of *Ivory* is fruitful and well improved. It is full of Elephants, who feed in flocks of 40 or 50.—Ten leagues from the Isle of *Ivory* lies *Terrier Ronge*, noted for the *gum trade* carried on with the *Moors* to great advantage, as it is done at the desert before-mentioned.—Without your memorialist entering further into the situation and commerce of this river, and all its dependencies; he craves leave only further to observe, that here offers a very extraordinary and lucrative scene of commerce that may be taken out of the scale of *France*, and thrown into that of *Great Britain*, if the proposed expedition is successfully executed.

The other principal *French* settlement necessary for your memorialist to take notice of, is, that of the *Fort and Isle of Gorée*. This Isle is about two *English* miles in compass. It lies north west, and south south east, within cannon shot of the continent. It is almost inaccessible, being surrounded with rocks, or inclosed with a ridge of black and round pebbles and stones, except a small bay to the east north east, about 20 toises broad, and 60 deep, between two points; the one pretty high, called the *Pointe du Cimitrere*, and the other low, defended by a sandy point, on which the sea breaks so violently, as to render it remarkable at a great distance. The anchorage is good round the Isle, especially in this little bay.

The soil is a red sandy mould, unfit for pasturage.

The *French* in time of peace usually keep a Garrison here of 300 whites at least, with some free blacks.

Your memorialist apprehends it proper to observe, that this Isle was yielded to the *Dutch* by *Biram*, king of the *Cape Verde Isles* in the year 1617. They soon after built a fort on the north west side, on a rocky eminence, which they called *Nassau* on the hill. But this not being sufficient to defend the road, they built a second, called *Fort Orange* below it; which effectually commanded the landing place. They remained in this settlement till the year 1663, when Commodore *Holmes*, belonging to the *English*, took it from them: but the *English* had not then time to keep it; for the following year *de Ruyter*, the *Dutch* Admiral, coming with a squadron, retook it; and obliged *Marocromby*, the governor, to surrender at discretion. The *Dutch* having repaired it, and augmented the fortifications, continued in possession till 1677; when Count *d'Etrees*, with a squadron of 11 *French* men of war, appeared before it *October* 30. The next Day he summoned *Hopsac*, the *Dutch* governor; and on his refusal, prepared to land under the cannon of his fleet; which the *Dutch* seeing, abandoned the lower fort, and retired to the higher; where soon after they hung out a white flag, and capitulated to surrender at discretion.

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The *French* found the place in good condition, the lower fort being mounted with 42 pieces of cannon. The Count having no instructions to keep the place, demolished the higher fort, and dismantled the lower: after which he sailed for the *West Indies*. But *Monf. du Caffé*, who was then on the coast in a man of war of 40 guns, and 250 men, hearing of Count *d'Estrees* proceeding, arrived at *Gorée*, Nov. 15, 1677, and took possession of it for the *French Senagal Company*; concluding a treaty of alliance and commerce with the negroe kings of *Rufisco*, *Joal*, and *Porto Dali*, on the same footing with those of the *Dutch*, when they held *Gorée*. At his return to *France*, his conduct was approved by the court; and in 1678, he was sent back to *Gorée* with presents to the kings of the negroes to confirm them in the *French interest*.

By the peace at *Nimeguen*, concluded the same year, the *French* remained possessors of their conquests on the coast of *Africa*, and caused the lower fort of *Gorée* to be repaired on the old foundation; raising the curtains and demy-bastions 16 feet high, calling it fort *Vermandois*.

The *Dutch* in 1679 made some attempt to recover *Gorée*. They sent a ship of force, commanded by the *Sieur Hubert*, with orders to surprize *Gorée*, and all the *French* settlements on the coast: but *Du Caffé*, with his squadron, was there before him. That commander finding his endeavours ineffectual to make the
Dutchman

Dutchman withdraw by fair means, and that he secretly practised with the negroes to stir them up to a revolt, was obliged to seize his ship, and send the crew to *Elmina*.

Another *Dutch* ship that came with the same views, retired on the first warning. Soon after the *Sieur Hopfac*, formerly the *Dutch* governor of *Gorée*, appeared on the coast in a large vessel, to instigate the negroes to rise against the *French*, which they did at *Porta D'Ali*, and *Joal*, plundering the *French* factories: but *Du Casse* returning seasonably from the river *Gambia*, preserved *Gorée*, and made such quick reprisals that he soon brought the negroe kings to sue for peace. In 1697, the *Sieur Brue* arriving at *Gorée*, found the two forts in a wretched condition, and repaired them in the best manner time would allow, mounting the higher fort of *St. Michael* with 24 cannon, and the lower of *St. Francis* with 28: and this settlement has been made considerably stronger still, according to the intelligence that your memorialist has received.

And your memorialist desires leave to observe, that according to the largeness of the fleet that shall be employed in this *African expedition*; they may, after their success in *Africa*, go from thence immediately to the *West Indies*, and secure first the *Neutral Islands*, and then the *French sugar colonies*, if the strength shall be sufficient for the purpose, and wisely conducted.

But how, and by what effectual means this proposed *African* and *American* expedition may be

be carried in execution, and that in all human probability, without a possibility of miscarriage, will appear, your memorialist humbly conceives, from some other affairs that have an affinity herewith; and which he will do himself the honour to submit to consideration.

In regard to the *African* expedition, the success of its execution, your memorialist humbly apprehends will, in a great measure, depend upon the following particulars. (1) Upon the utmost secrecy in carrying the same into execution, lest the enemy should be too well prepared to receive us. (2) Upon their fleets being blocked up, while the *African expedition* is absolutely executed, and the river *Senagal*, the island of *Gorée*, and the fort at *Arguin*, which cannot hold out long, as your memorialist judges, are all well secured. (3) Upon instantly making *treaties of alliance* and commerce with the negroes princes, after our success, whose kingdoms are the most adjacent; as those of *Rufisco*, *Joal* and *Porto D'Ali*, as have been seen to be the measures, which both the *French* and the *Dutch* have heretofore taken to secure those settlements, and their trade. (4) Upon executing the expedition at the proper season of the Year; which for crossing the dangerous *BAR* beforementioned, your memorialist has been informed, is from the months of *January* to *August*, the winds being then variable, and the tides running north. The best of these months are said to be in *April*, *May*, *June* and *July*:

July: and the worst season is from *September* to the end of *December*, the east wind then bringing a great swell, and making the navigation impracticable. (5) Upon having pilots, who are well experienced in the navigation of the river *Senagal* in particular, where the chief *French* Fort, that called *Fort Louis* is situated; and where the director general of the *French East India* company resides.—The navigation of the Isle of *Gorée* must likewise be well known by those who shall have the pilotage of this expedition. In respect to which navigation, your memorialist craves leave to observe, that the *British* navigators in general, who are experienced only in the sailing to and from the *British* settlements on the coast of *Africa*, can hardly be imagined to be well acquainted with that of the *French* settlements, where they are never suffered to go but by stealth: and, therefore, your memorialist humbly recommends it as necessary to the success of this enterprize, that pilots may be obtained, who are well experienced in the *French* settlement navigation: and that such are to be got, your memorialist apprehends practicable, by secret enquiries amongst those captains of merchantmen who trade for *gum Senagal*, as before observed.

Here is so much of the *Memorials* as is proper to be made public.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE FOREGOING MEMORIAL, *more fully illustrating the intentions of the Memorialist.*

WHOEVER takes a retrospect of the rise and progress of the *African* trade, as it has been carried on by the *English* since its commencement, will find, from undoubted experience, that the first establishment, as well as the constant security and preservation thereof, have been solely owing to the *forts and settlements* erected by them in that part of the world*. Without which the whole trade would certainly have been wrested out of our hands; and we should have had no more share in it than those nations that have never had any such possessions there.

And even since the *English* have had forts and settlements in *Africa*, great efforts have been made to extirpate them from this commerce. Although the *English* had established divers forts and factories on the gold coast before the year 1660; and before the *Dutch* had scarce got any footing there, and had a prior right to a *free trade*, at all places on the same coast, not in their possession: notwithstanding this, the *Dutch West India* company always kept cruisers on the coast to interrupt the trade of the *English* with the natives, and to seize their ships and cargoes, and carry them to their

* See *Postlethwayt's Universal Dictionary*.

settlement at *St. George del Mina*; and this they did not only near the *Dutch* company's forts and factories, but at all other places several hundred leagues distant from them.

To what a degree the *Dutch* carried their insults and depredations at this time upon our merchants trading to *Africa*, appears from the unquestionable testimony of *Sir George Downing*, Bart. who was envoy-extraordinary to the *States-General* upon this occasion: the list of ships taken, *Sir George* says, underwent the strictest examination of parliament, and was made out upon so clear and undeniable proofs, that it was impossible to add any thing, either to the solemnity of the debate, or to the weight of evidence*.

King Charles the second, being acquainted that the nation rung with the outcries of our suffering merchants against the *Dutch African* company, judged it full time to think of effectual measures to protect this trade for the future, and to obtain reparation for depredations committed.

With regard to depredations, his Majesty caused an account of them to be transmitted to *Sir George Downing*, his envoy then at the *Hague*, with orders to insist upon satisfaction, but none could be obtained. Whereupon, *April 1, 1664*, both houses of parliament came

* Vide, a reply of *Sir George Downing*, Bart. envoy extraordinary from his Majesty of *Great Britain*, to the remarks of the deputies of the *States-General*, upon his memorial of *December 20, 1664*, O.S. printed in 1665.

o a resolution, viz. *that the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities done by the subjects of the united provinces, by invading his rights in Africa, &c. and the damages, affronts and injuries done by them to our merchants, were the greatest obstruction of our foreign trade; and that the same be humbly and speedily presented to his Majesty; and that he be most humbly moved to take some speedy and effectual course for redress thereof, &c.*

Upon this resolution of parliament, his Majesty renewed his instances with the *States* for satisfaction to our injured merchants; but his remonstrances were treated with indifference and contempt: the losses of our merchants were too considerable to be easily reimbursed; and the benefits of the *African trade*, could they have monopolized the whole to themselves, as they aimed at, were too important to be willingly parted with. Wherefore, instead of giving us satisfaction for the injuries sustained, they renewed their depredations in *Africa*, with greater violence than before, under the conduct of their Admiral *de Ruyter*; so that the injuries of our merchants, upon the whole, amounted to between 6 and 700,000 *l.* sterling.

The King having tried all other methods in vain, found himself, at length, under the necessity, upon the first notice of *de Ruyter's* hostilities in *Africa*, of complying with the sense of his parliament, and the general voice of the people; and, accordingly, on the 22d of *Feb.* 1664-5, he declared war in form against the *States-General of the united provinces*: of such

high concern and importance to the nation was the trade to *Africa*, even then judged.

Nor have the struggles of the *English* with the *French*, to preserve a share in the *African* trade, been less than with the *Dutch*. The *Dutch West India company* were in possession of the forts of *Arguin* and *Gorée*; the *French Senagal company*, established anno 1673, were in possession of a small Fort on an island within the bar in the river *Senagal* (since enlarged and called *Fort Louis*) the *English* had one small fort in the river *Gambia*, and another in the river *Sierraleone*. In this situation affairs continued till about the year 1677; and the companies of each nation traded freely to all places on the open coast, not in the actual possession of each other, from *Cape Blanco* to *Cape Mount*.

In the Year 1677, and 1678, the *French* took the *Dutch* forts on the islands of *Arguin* and *Gorée*, which were soon after yielded to *France* by the treaty of *Nimeguen*: and in the year 1685, the *French* king judging the grant to the *Senagal company*, which extended from *Cape Blanco* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, too large, restrained it only from *Cape Blanco* to the river *Sierraleone*, and erected another company, called the *Guiney company*; and granted them the sole trade to and from that part of the coast, which extends from the river *Sierraleone* to the *Cape of Good Hope*. From this time the *French* trade to *Africa* was carried on by those two distinct companies.

The *Senagal* company were scarce warm in their new possessions, before they set up a claim to all that part of the coast, which extends from *Cape Blanco* to the river *Gambia*, comprehending above 500 miles in length. Anno 1681, they attempted to hinder the *English* company's ships from trading along that coast: but not being in a condition then to contest that point with our late royal *African* company, they dropped their pretensions. In the year 1683, 1684, and 1685, they seized and confiscated several ships belonging to the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*, and the *Prussians*: and in the latter of those years renewed their claim against the *English* company: from which time they continued to give them frequent interruptions in their trade; till at last a war on this account broke out between the two nations.

The losses sustained by the *English* during the course of this war, were greater than can be easily imagined. One of the chief was that of their fort in the river *Gambia*, anno 1695, which was taken and plundered by a squadron of *French* men of war, and all the fortifications demolished and razed to the ground. And, as a farther addition to this misfortune, when the *English* company came to take possession thereof again, after the peace, they found the *French* settled in the river, and claiming an equal share in the trade thereof with themselves.

However, the *English*, by means of their fort on *James Island* on the river *Gambia* and
divers

divers *factories*, some hundred miles up that river, have maintained the right of *Great Britain* to the trade hereof, in opposition to all the attempts of the *French* to root us out.

For 250 years past it has been the constant policy of all such *European* nations as have made any new discoveries for foreign trade, and to gain any power in remote and barbarous countries, to build and maintain *forts* and *castles*; and by virtue thereof to claim a right to whole kingdoms, and to tracts of lands of a vast extent, and to *exclude* all other nations from trading in, to, and from them.

By such measures the *Portuguese* long enjoyed the whole trade to *Africa*, and to the *East Indies*. Did not the *Spaniards* also, for many years, claim and engross almost the whole continent of *America* to themselves, and most of the *Islands* adjacent thereto? By the like policy, have not the *Hollanders* rendered themselves masters of all those *Islands* in the east, which produce *cinnamon*, *cloves*, *nutmegs*, and *mace*, &c? and from them supply the whole world with these commodities, by such *quantities*, and at such *prices* as they think fit? And have we not seen, that these same people, for some time before and after the year 1660, attempted to gain the whole and entire possession of the most valuable parts of the coasts of *Africa*, and to *exclude* *England* from any part share or interest therein; and thereby brought upon themselves a war with this kingdom in 1664?

Before

Before the *French* got possession of the fort in the river *Senagal*, and on the Islands of *Arguin* and *Gorée*, on the north coast, the *English* traded freely and openly to all places on that coast, without molestation. Since the *French* have been in possession of these forts, they have many years taken upon themselves, in times of peace, to exclude the *British* nation from those parts, and have actually taken and confiscated all such *British* ships and vessels as ventured to trade thither: and what other encroachments the *French* have of late years made upon the rights of trade of the *English* in *Africa*, are briefly set forth in the preceding memorial.

As we have now happily got possession of those forts and settlements of the *French*, by virtue of which they have excluded us from our right of trade for many hundred miles; it is to be hoped that we shall not easily part with them, if ever we do. Nay, if we are really in earnest to reduce the power of *France* to such an ebb as to have no further occasion to make WRITTEN TREATIES again with that nation, now seems to be the happy point of time. For however indifferent our success in *Africa* may appear to some, from the unexpensiveness, the simplicity, the ease, and safety with which the expedition was executed; yet, we may presume to say, if this blow is wisely and vigorously followed, by another such given to the affairs of *France* in *America*; it will enable *England* so to reduce the power of her enemies,

mies, as to oblige them to comply with what terms she pleases. This will be obvious enough, if we consider what we at present have in our power; which, as represented in the memorial, will appear to be as follows, *viz.* (1) We may deprive the *French* of their whole direct trade from *Old France* to *Africa*, both backwards and forwards; which will be stripping them of the whole commerce of this part of the world, for gold, ivory, bees wax, valuable gums and drugs of the richest kind, as well as excellent dying woods; all which amount to a considerable sum annually. (2) We may hinder them from obtaining negroe-slaves in *Africa* as they have done, wherewith to supply their SUGAR and TOBACCO colonies in *America*; and hereby we have it in our power to reduce those *French* colonies to as low a condition as *England* shall think proper.—This will be at once undoing all that the *French* have done in *America* for half this century past; and may be made to prove proportionably prosperous to all the *British* plantations. For cutting off their supply of negroes, will lay the axe to the root of all their *West India* commerce. They will soon be incapable of supplying *Europe*, as they have done, with *sugars*, and other *West India* commodities: nor will they be able to supply themselves therewith; which will be reducing them to the state they were once in. This will clip the wings of their maritime power. (3) We may strip them of that intercourse of commerce between their *northern* colonies as well

as the *British* and their *Sugar Islands*; which will prove no inconsiderable loss to the *French* and gain to the *English*. (4) We may hereby disable the *French* from keeping possession of the *Neutral Islands* of *St. Vincent*, *St. Lucia*, *Dominica* and *Tobago*, when they have no blacks to plant them; and thereby put an end to those eternal disputes we have had about them. (5) By taking away their negro trade, we shall prevent their supplying the *Spaniards* with those labourers from *St. Domingo* to the *Spanish West Indies*; whereby we shall put an effectual stop to their sending thither great quantities of their woollen and filken, and their gold and silver manufactures, under cover of supplying them with negro-slaves to work their mines in *Mexico* and *Peru*: the consequence of which to *Great Britain* will be, that this nation may be enabled to recover their fair commerce from *Old Spain* to *New*, and his Catholic Majesty will save those *indultoes* to his revenue, which the *French* illicit trade from *St. Domingo* has robbed it of. And with relation to the commerce of negroes, *England*, by the increase of her trade in *Africa*, will be enabled to furnish *Spanish America* with negroes cheaply and plentifully in virtue of a new *Assiento*; which may be entered into with the court of *Madrid* for that purpose; consisting of such fair and honourable stipulations on both sides, as may tend to cement a permanent friendship between *England* and *Spain*, and disunite *Spain* from *France*, when it shall be no longer in the

power of the latter to supply the other with negroes. (6) Our *African* conquest may likewise so affect the *French East India* company as to hurt the *public credit* of *France* very sensibly; and disable them from borrowing money upon the profits and funds of that monopoly, as they have frequently done: and this may discourage and intimidate numbers of *British* subjects from becoming proprietors in that stock, to the detriment of our own state and benefit of that of the enemy. (7) By keeping possession of the *French African* settlements, we are become absolute masters of the commerce of the whole *gum-coast* from *Cape Blanco* to the river *Gambia*; and may engross also the traffic of the whole river *Senagal* to ourselves, and drive the *French* for ever out of the trade of the river *Gambia*, where they have shamefully encroached upon us by their fort *Albreda*, as well as by that of fort *Joseph* and others in the river *Senagal*. (8) We shall prevent the encroachments of the *French*, in future, upon our trade at *Anamaboe* and *Whydah*, from whence they have supplied their *Sugar Islands* for years, with many thousands of the best negroes upon the whole coast; and also drive them out of the river *Sierraleone*, where they have usurped the right of trade, though they have no *Fort* at all to countenance them. (9) We may effectually hinder them from settling, as they have attempted, in the river *Sherbro*, and put it out of their power to have a single stick of that excellent dying wood

wood, called the *Camwood*, and many other that this trade affords. (10) By depriving the *French* of all benefits and advantages of their whole *African* trade, both *directly* and *consequently*, as the same is essentially connected with the whole of their *American* and *European commerce*; and making the best use of this acquisition for the emolument of our own trade in *America*, and all its dependent branches; *England* has it really now in her power to destroy the most important commerce and navigation belonging to our enemies; and by this means to take at least to the amount of above *two million and one half sterling* a year out of the profits of *France*, and draw them into her own coffers. For how can *France* support her *Sugar colonies* without *Negroes-slaves*? *England* may now starve them out of those colonies; and, in the opinion of the *French* themselves, absolutely ruin and destroy their whole *American* islands. For what do the *French* memorialists (their knowing and experienced *deputies of trade*) say to the *Royal Council of Commerce of France*, as quoted in the before presented memorial? They say, what *England* should never forget; and what the writer of these papers has made the grand basis of his *African memorial* as laid before the *British* ministry.—

THE COMMERCE OF GUINEY, say they, HAS SUCH RELATION TO THAT OF THE FRENCH ISLANDS IN THE WEST INDIES, THAT THE ONE CANNOT SUBSIST WITHOUT THE OTHER. BY THOSE TRADES, WE HAVE DEPRIVED OUR COMPETITORS IN TRAFFIC OF

THE GREAT PROFITS WHICH THEY DREW FROM US,* AND MAY PUT OURSELVES INTO A CONDITION BY THEIR EXAMPLE TO DRAW PROFIT IN OUR TURN FROM THEM, AND ESPECIALLY FROM THE ENGLISH.† WE MAY INCREASE THOSE TRADES CONSIDERABLY, SEEING THE ENGLISH IN THEIR ISLANDS WITH LESS ADVANTAGE THAN WE, IN TERRITORIES OF LESS EXTENT, AND IN MUCH LESS TIME, HAVE FOUND MEANS TO EMPLOY YEARLY ABOVE 500 SHIPS,‡ WHILE WE DID NOT, WITHOUT GREAT DIFFICULTY EMPLOY 100. EVERY BODY IS SENSIBLE OF THE BENEFIT OF NAVIGATION, AND THAT THE HAPPINESS AND GLORY OF A STATE DEPEND UPON IT: THERE CAN BE NO COMMERCE WITHOUT IT; IT GOVERNS THE FORTUNES OF THE MERCHANTS; IT MAINTAINS A GREAT NUMBER OF SUBJECTS, SEAMEN, AND MECHANICS.—NO ONE IS IGNORANT, THAT THE NAVIGATION OF FRANCE OWES ALL ITS INCREASE AND SPLENDOUR TO THE COMMERCE OF ITS SUGAR ISLANDS, AND THAT IT CANNOT BE KEPT UP AND IN-

* Before the *French* were able to supply themselves with sugar, we had a considerable share in their supply.

† Their drawing profit from the *English* in their turn, may signify their view to supply us with sugar in time, as well as to supplant us, as they have done at foreign markets; so that they have had in view the ruin of our sugar colonies.

‡ Here is an acknowledgment on the part of the *French* themselves, that our *West India* commerce in the year 1701 was *five times* more than that of *France*: but how that of *France* has encreased since, beyond ours, will appear presently.

LARGED,

LARGED, OTHERWISE THAN BY THIS COMMERCE.

'TIS BEYOND ALL DOUBT, THAT THIS COMMERCE IS MORE BENEFICIAL TO THE STATE, THAN ALL OTHERS (of long voyages) THAT ARE DRIVEN BY THE FRENCH; BECAUSE IT IS CARRIED ON WITHOUT EXPORTING ANY MONEY, AND WITHOUT THE HELP OF ANY FOREIGN GOODS AND MANUFACTURES; SO THAT NONE BUT THE SUBJECTS OF THE KING AND KINGDOM HAVE THE PROFIT OF IT, &c."

Here then is an open declaration, on the side of the *French* themselves, that their *West India commerce* cannot subsist without their *African*.—We having now possessed ourselves of their *African settlements*, by virtue of which they have maintained that commerce: can this nation hesitate a moment what is to be done? LET HER FOR EVER KEEP POSSESSION OF THE FRENCH AFRICAN FORTS AND SETTLEMENTS, as a security for the good behaviour of our enemies for the future; since we can do that as easily as we took them. Let us fortify these settlements, and render them as well as our own ancient ones in that part of the world invincible, without a moment's delay; so that it may not be in the power of the enemy, with the aid of any allies they may expect, to dispossess the *English* of them.

The taking of *Cape Breton* will not be of near so much consequence to our northern colonies,

as

as our *African* conquest will to our *Sugar Islands*: and although no man can presume to foresee the events of war, yet they must prove very unsuccessful indeed, while we continue engaged only against *France*, if we should be obliged ever again to give up either of them: and keeping possession of these, and making proper use of them, we shall have it in our power to reduce their trade and navigation greatly; which will be a good step so to lower the crest of *France*, as to prevent her rising easily again. Nor need we give up either of these for the restitution of *Minorca*, because the loss of that may probably be supplied in a great measure by other means far less expensive than the keeping that island; though that, perhaps, if we had it again, might be made to maintain itself. But to adhere to the present point.

The *French American* trade and navigation having, by means of their *African*, within little more than half a century proved of unspeakable benefit to them, it is no wonder that they will hazard a war to advance it.

Before the year 1720, there were no more than 30 sail of ships annually employed in the *American* trade to *Bourdeaux*; and before the present war broke out, there were 300 sail employed annually in that trade from that city only.

In the article of sugar alone, the *French* have, within the same time, increased from the

the quantity of about * 30,000 *English* hogsheads *per Annum*, to 120,000 or thereabouts; whereof about two thirds are shipped to *Holland*, *Hamburg*, *Spain*, and other foreign markets; and the *English* have increased from about 45,000 to no more than 70,000 hogsheads within that time, of which they now send but little to *foreign markets*, although they had formerly the best share of that trade, and even supplied *France* with quantities. This increase of the quantity of the importation of sugar into *Europe* from *America*, by the *French* and *English*, has been owing to the increase of the Consumption of that commodity in *Europe* in general, and the declension of the *Portuguese* sugar trade.—And, moreover, the *French* have engrossed, by means of their *West India colonies*, the greatest share of indigo-trade from the *English*, and have also extremely increased in their fisheries, and beaver and other furr trade in *North America*, since their possession of *Cape Breton*: and it is from this last trade, and their fisheries, that they find a vent for most of their molasses and rum that the *English* from *North America* do not take off their hands in time of peace.

What superiority they have gained over us in the furr trade of *North America* is manifest from the following computation. They import into *France* from *Canada* only, to the va-

* A Hoghead of sugar, including freight, and other charges home, may be computed on an average, at 12 l. to 18 l. *per hoghead*, according to the plenty or scarcity.

lue of 135,000 *l.* * sterling *per Annum*, in beaver and other furs, including deer skins; and the *English* from all our northern colonies, not above 90,000 *l.* sterling. And the *French* are so tender of this branch of trade, and so sensible of the advantages that arise from the manufactory of these *American* commodities, that no one can re-export beaver from *France* unmanufactured, under the severest penalties. When these goods are manufactured, they exceed the value upon importations, in some cases *ten fold*, and have enabled the *French* to supply most parts of *Europe* and *Spanish America* with hats. In the late war there was a ship taken, bound from *France* to the *Spanish West Indies*, in which was a quantity of white beaver, and other hats, which were sold in *London*, and were so much superior in quality to any thing of the like sort, that our manufacturers were surprized at it, as they were much beyond what they could have imagined.

The great advantages gained by the *French* from other parts of *Europe*, in return for their *American* products, is not easily conceived by those who have not descended minutely into these considerations, from the proper lights. It is from hence they chiefly maintain such powerful armies, and afford such plentiful subsidies

	In beaver	In deer skins	In furs	Total
* The <i>French</i> import from <i>Canada</i> .	75,000 <i>l.</i>	20,000	40,000	135,000
The <i>English</i> import from <i>North America</i> .	37,000	25,000	28,000	90,000
	112,000 <i>l.</i>	45,000	68,000	225,000

and

and pensions to several powers in *Europe*, when subservient to their views and interests: it is from hence they build their ships of war, and nourish and maintain seamen to supply them.

It is computed that they have not drawn so little as from two to three millions sterling *per Annum* from foreign countries, in return for sugars, indigo, coffee, ginger, beaver manufactured, baccaloo, or salt fish, and other *American* products, and near one million more from *Great Britain* and *Ireland* only, in wool and cash, in return for their cambrics, tea, brandy and wine, and thereby combat us in trade with our own weapons.

From the connections that there are in trade between the *French* continent and island colonies in *America*; if we ruin and destroy the latter, the other will be very sensibly affected: so likewise, if we check the growth of their power in *North America*, this will proportionably injure their islands.

That the *French* sugar colonies in *America* have, from a small beginning, arrived to an extraordinary pitch of prosperity, since the reign of *Queen Anne* only, is too apparent to need animadversion. The island of *Martinico* is the chief of these *French* settlements: the number of people in this island, is computed to be at least 10,000 whites, and between 20 and 30,000 negroes; and they make more sugar here than we do in the island of *Barbadoes*. They also cultivate here indigo, cotton, and cacao to great advange, and draw no little profit from

the ginger, cassia and pimento, of which they export considerable quantities. They likewise manufacture rocou for the use of dyers, and send home variety of medicinal gums. The *French* sugar islands produce besides, several kinds of valuable woods used in the art of dying, inlaying, and cabinet work; such as rose wood, the *Indian* wood and iron wood, as well as brazelletto wood, fustic and ebony.—We may add to these commodities raw hides and tortoise shell.

Though these Isles produce so many estimable commodities; yet they stand in need of supplies of divers essential necessities; such as horses and cattle of all kinds, corn, roots, and all sorts of lumber, of which they receive some from *Canada*, and the rest from the *British* northern colonies, in exchange for sugar, tobacco, indigo, and other goods, sent to *Canada*, and for rum and molasses, &c. sent to our northern colonies.—The inhabitants of this island also stand in constant need of *negroes*, as the most essential of all; and with these they have been supplied by the *French East India* company from *Africa*. The negroes are sent to *Martinico*, and there purchased by the planters of the other islands, at a settled price, of so many hogsheds of sugar *per* head. But of all the sugar colonies that the *French* possess in *America*, there is none of more high concernment to them than that of *St. Domingo*.—And should the *French* once carry their point, as they certainly aim at, and become the sole
masters

masters of this island, we may reasonably believe, that, in few years, it would become the richest and most estimable country in that part of the world.—This Isle would afford them many advantages, of which they stand in need; for their other sugar islands are subject to many inconveniencies, especially the want of provisions; but these would all be amply remedied at *St. Domingo*; and it would afford them an opportunity of increasing their strength there to such a degree, as would put it out of the power of any of their neighbours to give them much disturbance. They would soon become formidable both to *us*, and to the *Spaniards*; which is an evil that we have now in our power effectually to guard against, if we are resolute never to give them footing again in *Africa*.

It is not many years since the principal inhabitants of *Jamaica* addressed his Majesty, to shew him the decay of their trade and their planting interest: whereby they represented,
 “ that the low value of their produce might
 “ be very justly attributed to the great im-
 “ provement the *French* have made in their
 “ sugar colonies.—That sugar and other com-
 “ modities produced in the *French* colonies
 “ were frequently imported into *Ireland*, with-
 “ out introducing them into the ports of *Great*
 “ *Britain*, and paying the duties, and conse-
 “ quently those foreigners were supplied with
 “ provisions at easier rates.—That the *British*
 “ northern colonies imported into *Jamaica*

“ great quantities of provisions, and other
 “ goods, for which they took no part of the
 “ produce of that island in exchange, a small
 “ quantity of molasses excepted, but were paid
 “ in bullion, which they carried to *St. Do-*
 “ *mingo*, and there bought sugar, rum, and mo-
 “ lasses for their own use: which trade was not
 “ only unequal and injurious to the inhabitants
 “ of *Jamaica*, but prejudicial even to the nor-
 “ thern colonies, and highly so to their mo-
 “ ther country; draining *Jamaica* of so much
 “ bullion in favour of *France*, which other-
 “ wise might have centered in *Great Britain*.”

Though one part of this complaint has been remedied, the other is still subsisting: the northern colonies still continue to supply the *French* with lumber, and take *French* rum and molasses, &c. which gives them an opportunity of underselling us both at home and abroad.

The breed of seamen, with the general encrease and encouragement of the navigation of this kingdom, principally depend on our plantation trade and *Newfoundland* fishery; therefore their state and condition ever deserve the attention of our best patriots, for preventing the decay, loss and destruction of the maritime strength of *Great Britain*: but we may presume that this is most essentially to be done by destroying the *French* settlements in *Africa*, in order to ruin their island colonies in *America*.

It was observed some years ago by a gentleman of *Barbadoes*, in a speech to the council and general assembly of that island, “ that
 “ their

“ their neighbour colonies (the *French*) so
 “ long kept by foreign fears from improving,
 “ were then encouraging trade, increasing their
 “ people, enlarging their plantations, and cul-
 “ tivating their lands: that their fertile soil
 “ yielded them many crops from one plant-
 “ ing, while the soil of the *English* plantations
 “ required the utmost art, industry, and ma-
 “ nure, and that too annually.”

It is not above 70 years ago that *Martinico*
 was the only settlement the *French* were pos-
 sessed of in the *West Indies*: since which time
 they have settled *Guadaloupe*, and increased
 their plantations in *Hispaniola* ten to one.—
 About 40 years ago the observation was made,
 that as the *French* had, within four or five
 years beat us out of our indigo trade; so it
 could not be much longer time before our con-
 dition would be the same with our sugar trade;
 for that they would supplant us therein in all
Europe. And the observation has been too
 early verified.

Earthquakes, inundations of the sea, insur-
 rections of negroes, blasts in canes, and other
 concomitant circumstances, have proved very
 great and unspeakable impediments to the
 prosperity of our *British* sugar plantations;
 which require every possible encouragement in
 our power to give them.—But the greatest blow
 that has been given to them has been the sur-
 prising increase of the *French* sugar colonies; our
Newfoundland fishery also has decayed by their
 encroachments; and our tobacco colonies, will
 also

also be out-rivalled by the *French* of *Louisiana*, if they are not effectually checked in *America*. — These things must give every *Briton* a very melancholy prospect, since it is by our *sugar* and *tobacco*, and other *colonies*, we have such a ballance in trade on our side with *Hamburg* and other parts of the *east land* countries, as also a profitable trade with the *United Provinces*; and from our *Newfoundland* fishery, great sums have been annually brought into *England* from *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*: besides, our northern colonies being dependent on our *sugar* settlements to take off their products; and having not wherewithal to answer the exports to them from *Great Britain*, are only valuable as they bear relation to such colonies as are furnished by them; which cease on the decay of the trade from whence it arises.

The *French* have taken every measure to improve their fisheries in general since the treaty of *Utrecht*. They have exceedingly increased that to *Newfoundland*, as well on the coast as on the great bank. Nor do they fish only on the great bank for such fish as are cured without drying, as the *Dutch* do in their white herring fishery in the open sea; but have had the address to obtain, that the island of *Cape Breton* should be yielded to them, to fortify and do what they please with; where they have been long struggling to establish another *Dunkirk* to the ruin of the *British American* commerce; and where they carry on their dry fishery as well as at *Placentia*. — But,

as

as if this was not privilege enough for them, we have impolitically granted them the liberty to resort to the very island of *Newfoundland* itself, and erect stages, &c. to cure and dry their fish to the unspeakable detriment of our fishery there.

In the time of king *Charles* the first, the *French* paid us a tribute for the liberty of curing and drying fish at *Newfoundland*, and we could deprive them of it whenever we pleased. Of late years they have not only ceased to pay tribute, but, by their neighbourhood at *Cape Breton*, will oblige us to keep large garrisons as well at *Nova Scotia* as *Newfoundland*, if we will prevent our being surprized; where at *Newfoundland* they have the liberty of the fishing season equally with us, from *Cape Bonavista* northward to the northern point of the said island, &c. by which they are also become our rivals in a very fine salmon fishery there.

The *French* are now become so much our competitors in this trade, and are increased to such a degree, that they employ yearly above 500 sail of shipping to carry on their fisheries on the great bank of *Newfoundland*, and on the coast of that island; that is, in their wet and dry fish: hereby they have not only supplied themselves with the fish they formerly took from us, but furnish many parts of *Spain* and *Italy* therewith, to our prodigious loss.

The *French* are so sensible of the extraordinary advantage of this fishery, and so very intent upon pursuing it, that from their first attempts
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to make themselves considerable at sea they have had it perpetually in view.—They first obtained permission to fish at *Newfoundland*, upon paying a duty of five *per Cent.*—Afterwards they got that acknowledgment relinquished: but at the treaty of *Utrecht*, they went far greater lengths; they thereby obtained the cession of *Cape Breton*, a maiden fishery, that had scarce been touched; whereas *Newfoundland* was greatly exhausted, and several islands in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*.—Not content with these, they further obtained a liberty of curing and drying their fish, setting up stages, and resorting to our island of *Newfoundland*, during the fishing season, without restriction.

'Tis true they delivered us up *Placentia*, and some other places in *Newfoundland*; but they took care to have a much better place granted them in lieu thereof; and that with this extraordinary favour to THEM more than to us, that they have the liberty granted them to frequent our island of *Newfoundland*, and erect stages, &c. for curing and drying their fish; but we have not the privilege of doing the same on the island of *Cape Breton*, or any other of their islands, which is shamefully impolitic.

As *America* has been the great nursery for the commerce and maritime power of *France*; and as she has been discontented with that great share she has had therein; and aimed at ruining the *British* trade and navigation in this part of the world; it is to be hoped, that we shall
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not forget to deprive them of every privilege, which they have so greatly abused; when it seems to be now in our power so to do: and this is the motive for hinting this *en passant*.

Most other powers in *Europe* being turned to commerce; it is certainly the interest of *Great Britain* to preserve and advance as much as possible every branch of trade and navigation, that she can call properly her own; every branch that is absolutely independent of those of all other nations: and such only are her *African* and her *American trades*; and these she cannot cultivate to too great a degree; provided they are so regulated by the wisdom of the legislature, as not to interfere with those of the mother kingdom: of which, we can be under no apprehension, with respect to the commerce of *Africa*; that part of the world affording neither products or manufactures to interfere with our own, but gives us the most estimable commodities in return, even for great quantities of our toys and baubles. And it will be our own fault, if we suffer our *American* fellow subjects to rival us in what *Great Britain* herself can amply supply.

It must be allowed, that experience has hitherto shewn, that those powers who most wisely cherish their plantation trade and navigation in *America*, in due subserviency to the prosperity of their respective mother countries, are likely to have the greatest share of mercantile shipping, to obtain the best nursery for a royal navy, and remain in the best condition

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to assert and maintain the dominion and sovereignty of the seas: and as the greatest part of the commerce of *America* does so essentially depend upon that of *Africa*; we cannot render the latter too broad bottomed and extensive; for it will repay us in an hundred fold degree.

However strange it may be thought, yet it is nevertheless true, that our *African* commerce is still but in its state of infancy, although we have enjoyed a share therein, since the days of our *Elizabeth*. It would be easy to point out the causes hereof, would it consist with the limits to which I am at present restrained.

The close connection that subsists between our *African* and *American* trade, is sufficient to excite the consideration of the ablest men in the kingdom: but if this alone will not rouse and animate us to extend this traffic to the utmost; we shall shew there are other inducements not less captivating.

That the subterranean treasures of *Africa* are as considerable as those of any other part of the whole world, is universally allowed. That copper ore has been discovered there is certain; and there is great reason to believe it must be exceeding great in quantity; so great that the natives have it by oral tradition, that the mountains, which we call *Atlas*, abound with that metal. Great quantities are daily raised in *Fez*, *Tunis*, and *Ethiopia*; and it is allowed

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to be the finest copper produced in the whole world.

To what a degree this country abounds in *gold*, we have not only the testimony of the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*, and the *French*, who have long had settlements on the continent of *Africa*, as well as we, but we have numberless living witnesses now among our own nation, as well as the authority of the most authentic historians; whose accounts, one would imagine, should animate us to push this traffic to the utmost degree we are capable.

There is no countries in the world, says the celebrated historian *Leo Africanus*, richer in gold and silver, than the kingdoms in *Africa*; as those of *Mandingo*, *Ethiopia*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Batua*, *Quiticui*, *Monomotapa*, *Casati* and *Me-benemugi*. By the means of settlements of strength, adds he, upon the continent of *Africa*, *Europeans* may traffic with the bordering people of *Guiney* and *Libia*, and get into their hands the gold of *Mandingo*, and its adjacent territories; among which are those of the king of *Congo*, whose territory is one of the most flourishing and plentiful in *Ethiopia*.

From this country we might also easily have communication with that of *Prete-Janny*, which abounds with elephants, and such provisions and necessaries as would give singular ease and conveniency to facilitate very lucrative intercourses of commerce. Upon the confines

of the kingdom of *Congo*, lies *Angola*, with the king of which *Paulo Dias*, a *Portuguese* Captain, waged war; the principal reason whereof was, certain *silver mines* that the Captain discovered in the mountains of *Cambabe*, no way inferior to those of *Potozi*, in the *Spanish West Indies*.

The same historian speaking of the river *Gambia**, observes, that by the exchange of *European* merchandize with the natives, we may easily draw to us the gold of all those countries: and about ninety leagues up this river, there is a place called the island of *Elephants*, in regard to the prodigious number of those creatures; which also affords a very beneficial branch of commerce.

It would be endless to cite all the passages in this historian, relating to the rich mines both of *gold* and *silver*, wherewith the *Africans* abound; *Ghana* or *Guiney*, says another eminent historian†, is the greatest city in all the countries of *Negroland*, the most populous and

* *James Fort* and *Island* in the river *Gambia* on the north coast, belongs to the *English*. It formerly mounted 90 guns, with small arms and stores; and had several warehouses for merchandize, and a negroe-house for 200 negroes, and apartments for the governor, factors, writers, officers, artificers, soldiers, and castle-slaves. The late *Royal African* company had several other factories for near 800 miles up this river, viz. *Gengia*, *Tanerswall*, *Joar*, *Yanemarew*, *Casau*, *Bruco*, *Cuttelar*, *Sany*, *Wally*, *Yamyamacunda*, *Faleodo*, *Baracunda*; which last is within 200 miles of the gold mines.

† *Vide Geographia Nubienes, &c.* a *Gabrielo Stonita Syriacarum & Arabicarum Literarum Professore*, 1619, p. 10.

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the most abounding with merchandize : and not only very wealthy merchants travel thither from all the neighbouring parts, but also from the most remote corners of the west. This country borders upon the land of *Vancara*, very famous for the plenty and excellency of its gold mines. The king hath a grand palace near the banks of the *Niger*; and a mass of gold therein of thirty pounds weight, as it was naturally produced in the mines; but what seems extraordinary is, that this mass of gold is completely pure and malleable, without being at all smelted by the ordinary arts of refining and separation : it is also so extremely fine and soft, as naturally produced, to admit of being hammered out as a spacious canopy for the princes's royal throne : to so great perfection hath nature brought gold ore in many parts of *Africa*.

A modern historian, whose credit I never heard impeached, hath also confirmed the great treasures in this part of the world, and hath descended to a very minute specification of great variety of their rich mines.

The greatest part of the lands, says our author, where the mines are, produces gold in such plenty, that it is quite unnecessary to dig for it; 'tis needful only to rake the superficies of the earth and wash it in a bowl, to come at the *gold dust*, and very often pieces of gold of pretty good weight*. The earth, says he

* Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique occidentale, par le Pere Jean Baptiste Labat, Vol. IV. p. 39.

again,

again, which produces it is not very hard, or difficult to dig; it is generally of the clayey kind, of various colours, and mixed with some sandy kind of ore; so that ten men in *Africa* may do more work of this kind than two hundred can in the richest mines of *Peru*.

The negroes, proceeds he, are totally ignorant of the peculiar nature of lands that yield gold; they have no art or method of judging which do, or do not afford that metal: they have a general idea, there is plenty of *gold-mines* almost every where, and the dryer the earth is, and the more unkindly in the production of vegetables, the more reason they imagine there is to believe such places yield *gold*. Wherefore they scratch and dig almost every where indiscriminately; and when by their rambling searches they happen to discover plenty in one place, they continue to work there so long only as a diminution of the first plenty does not discontinue. This they do without any art or workman-like skill in sinking any depth, or attempting to discover the vein or its course: and so soon as the *mine* remarkably diminishes from its first plenty, they immediately forsake that place, and go in quest of a fresh one, without searching there any further.*

When they find the *mine* rich, and that they can, without much trouble, obtain a considerable quantity of gold, they sometimes vouchsafe to remain digging at the same place, even

* Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique occidentale, par le Pere Jean Baptiste Labat, Vol. IV. p. 40, 41.

fix, or perhaps seven feet deep; but that extent generally determines their search; not because the mine ceases to be less plentiful (for they confess the deeper they sink, the greater quantity of gold they find) but because they have no invention of shafts, nor any other knowledge in the nature and methods of mining, to prevent the earth from falling in upon them*.

After this general account of the riches of *Africa*, our author gives a detail of variety of rich mines; the truth of which appears by his representation to be well attested. As 1. A gold and silver mine at *Fourquairenne*. 2. Another at *Sambanoura*, where he says, the negroes find gold only by mere washing of the earth, without digging at all: they only rake it together with their hands from the surface of the earth. 3. A mine at *Sagolla*, where also they find gold upon the surface of the earth, by simple washing of it, without sinking at all: This gold is extremely pure, and very easy of fusibility. It may be presumed, he says, that those *metallic earths* would afford considerably more gold than what is found upon the bare superficies. 4. *Guinguia-Faranna* is a place, quite sowed, as it were, with gold-mines; where, take the earth almost indifferently, and wash it only, you will find pure gold, which melts with great ease†.

* Labat, Vol. IV. p. 46, 47.

† Labat, p. 47.

What indicates the riches of the land here still more, is, that the very rivulets of water that arise from it, and run into the river *Tal-leme*, carry with them so much gold, that the neighbouring negroes, when the mines are not washed by the permission of their prince, come to these rivulets, and employ themselves with washing the sand, and find there considerable quantities of gold. Nor is this practice forbid them: and if the negroes were not so indolent, they might greatly enrich themselves, even by this peddling work *. 5. The mountains about *Guinguia-Faranna* are of a soft earth, strewed with gold sand, which yields well in fine gold. There are also marchasites, which have proved of considerable value †.

The mines also at *Niasanbona* are very rich, and easy to be worked; but this ore should be pounded, and smelted. This requiring more art in refining than the negroes are masters of, it would be easy to get possession thereof ‡. 6. The most considerable mine that is at present open, and which the negroes work with more care, is that between the village of *Tambacoura* and *Nettico* about thirty leagues east of the river *Faleme*, in the center of the country of *Bambouco*. This is surprisingly rich, and produces a very fine gold: and for fifteen or twenty leagues round about, here is so great plenty of mines, that they cannot be well re-

* Labat, p. 47, 48.

† Idem, p. 47.

‡ Idem, p. 50.

fented on the map, by reason that so great a quantity would create confusion: it may be said, with great truth, that the mines in this place are superior to all others in those parts of *Africa**.

The want of almost all the conveniencies of life here, have put the negroes under the necessity of working their mines with something of more industry than is usual amongst them. They have sunk here even ten feet deep, which is very extraordinary with them, and a matter of great difficulty to accomplish; they wanting both materials and experience for mining.

They find, however, at this depth, gold in much greater abundance than by mere searching the superficies of the earth, or by a little shallow digging, as they do in all other places. It sometimes happens that the veins they meet with are mixed with a kind of sand, or some stoney earth, which they only pound and wash to separate the metal therefrom; in which case, they find considerable quantities pretty pure. But if these people were well instructed in the arts of smelting and refining of ores, they would certainly obtain far greater plenty: but, of these things they are totally ignorant; *nor have they ever yet come to the main vein of any of their mines*†.

There are two *gold-mines* at *Naye*. That which is on the brink of the river has been a

* Labat, p. 51.

† Idem, p. 52.

long time left off working in the negroe way; and for no other reason, but from its being liable to be overflowed; for they are as little acquainted with draining of mines, as they are with any other part of minerology. Instead of pursuing this mine, they have opened another a little distance from it, upon the right of the river; which is not liable to be overflowed; and therefore may be worked at all times*.

About twenty leagues above *Cainoura*, to the left of the river, there is a *gold-mine* in the country of *Tomane Niacalen*, which is very rich, and affords the metal very pure, in the unskilful manner the negroes procure it. This mine is mighty easy to be wrought, and yet the negroes have relinquished it upon an idle supposition that prevails among them†.

There are an infinite number of other places, abounding with evident signatures of mines of gold. Among other mines, there are several about seventeen leagues from the mouth of the river *Faleme* in the *Niger*, which are no way inferior in value to those before-mentioned in the mountains of *Nettico* and *Tamba-oura*‡.

There are also as large quantities of *salt-petre* to be met with as can be desired; a valuable commodity at all times, and to be had infinitely cheaper than from *Asia*||.

* Labat, Vol. IV. p. 54.

† Idem, p. 54, 55.

‡ Idem, p. 55.

|| Idem, p. 58.

But it would be endless to produce authorities of the immense treasures wherewith *Africa* abounds. We have a voucher thereof that will not easily be forgot, without having our memories refreshed at this time of day, upon so interesting an occasion: I mean that of a certain piece of gold that has been long current in this kingdom, called a GUINEA; a denomination derived from the gold brought from the coast of *Africa* bearing that name. And that traffic, which once supplied *Great Britain* with the bulk of her gold before the *Brazil-mines* were discovered, would amply supply us at present; and very likely to a far greater degree of profit, both to the nation and the adventurers, than the *Spanish West Indies*, or the *Brazil* commerce will admit of.

And were the proper means taken by the *English* with the negro princes, they might, by means of all their present possessions, render the gold mines, and other treasures of this country, accessible; which might make this nation less dependent upon any other for gold, and many inestimable commodities. How this may be accomplished, I may possibly shew to certain people.

Nor is this trade liable to those hazards and interruptions, to which the other branches are from the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, upon any rupture or misunderstanding with those potentates: if we pursue the proper measures to cultivate an honourable commercial friendship

with the princes and chief men in power in those countries.

Nothing seems wanting to render *Africa* equal by nature, if not in many respects superior, to any of the three other parts of the globe. For although the middle, lying between the tropics in the torrid zone, and under the line, is exceeding hot; yet, even in the hottest part it is inhabited; and the people, who dwell in these extreme hot climates, do abound in plenty, have cattle, corn, cooling fruits, shady rivers, &c. and live very comfortably and healthy; as in the island of *St. Thomas*, under the line, also on the *Gold Coast*, and in the kingdom of *Bening* and *Angola*, on the west shore; and in *Ethiopia*, *Melinda*, the coast of *Zanquebar*, and several of the more intemperate places on the eastern shore.

But, making allowance for some of the inland countries remote from the sea, which we are told are without water, and therefore desert; yet they are not equal to the uninhabited wastes, either of *Europe*, *Asia*, or *America*. Notwithstanding that, *Africa*, in one respect, has greater advantages than the other parts of the world; for it feels no cold, the most northern latitude being about 37, and the most southern about 35 degrees; so that the far greater part enjoys the finest and most temperate climate.

The river *Senagal* is by most allowed to be a branch of the great river *Niger*, which rising in *Æthiopia*, and running from within a few leagues

leagues of the river *Nile*, crosses the whole continent of *Africa* from east to west, performing a course not less than 3700 miles, perhaps the longest of any river in the world, except that of the *Rio de la Plata*, or the *Amazons*, in the southern parts of *America*. Our best geographers, inform us, that the *Niger* divides itself into three mighty channels; which all empty themselves into the ocean on this coast. These channels are distinguished by different names, none retaining the original name of the *Niger* from whence they are derived. The northernmost of the three is called the *Senagal*, the next the *Rio Gambia*, and the other *Rio Grande*, from its magnitude.

These divisions of the *Niger* are first made by nature, the lands falling away on the north of the grand current at *Hulbert*, where the depth of the channel will carry vessels of almost any burthen, if the rapidity of the current was not too violent. It seems to be for want of people well skilled in the navigation of great rivers, founding channels, laying buoys on the shoals and rocks, and having vessels suitable, that the *Niger* is not rendered the most noble river in the world for navigation, as well for great as small vessels.—But all these helps being wanting, little, at present, is known of it, the country being not fully searched into: and what is known of it, is learnt only from the ignorant people, who come down from thence with their goods to sell; of whom we only know in general that the inland country is very populous;

populous; that they are of nations different in language, and customs; that some are more civilized than others, and better apparelled, and that the most barbarous go next to naked.

At the entrance of the *Senagal* branch of the *Niger*, are the *Cape de Verde Islands*, under the government of the *Portuguese*, who were the first navigators on this coast. One of these islands, called *St. Jago*, has as good a harbour for shipping as most in this part of the world. The chief merchandize here is salt; the quantity of which is so considerable, that abundance of ships are always here from the coasts of *America*, especially from the northern part, to load salt; which enriches the *Cape de Verdes*, and yields a large revenue to the king of *Portugal*. The *New England* and *Newfoundland* people have their salt here for curing the vast quantity of fish taken in these seas.

To the northward of the river *Senagal*, there is an extensive bay reaching from *Cape Blanco* to *Cape Mirink*, where the *Portuguese* formerly drove a large trade; which has been engrossed for many years by the *French*, in virtue of their fort *Arguin* on this part of the coast. There falls into this bay, *St. John's* river, which some have thought is a smaller branch of the *Niger*, as it is not far distant from that of *Senagal*.

Between the river *Senagal* and *Gambia*, a very considerable trade has been drove with the negroes by the *French*. The principal place

place of trade here is *Refrisco*, which has a pretty good road for most part of the year.

The *Gambia* is about 100 miles to the south of the *Senagal*; the *Rio Grande* is about 170 miles from the *Gambia*. The *English* have, as observed, long possessed *James Fort* in the river *Gambia*, and diverse other factories up this river, by means of which our commerce there has hitherto been preserved.

From these mouths of the *Niger* southward, the country is extremely populous. Here the *English* have trade at *Sierraleone* and *Sherbro*. The commerce here is generally considered under the denomination of the *Grain Coast*, the *Tooth* or *Ivory Coast*, the *Gold Coast*, and the *Slave Coast*. The *Grain Coast* begins at *Sherbro*, the *Guiney* grain being found here; and it extends to *Cape Palmas*. The *Tooth* coast begins at *Cape Palmas*, and ends at *Cape Three Points*. Here they get the greatest quantity of ivory. The *Gold Coast* begins at *Cape Three Points*, and reaches to *Whydah* and the shores of *Popo* and *Fida*. It is so called, because here they get the largest quantity of gold dust, which is brought down to the coast by the negroes.

But although the coast is thus distinguished, it is to be observed, that both gold and negro-slaves are had in all the several divisions, though not in so large quantities. They also get elephant's teeth upon the gold coast very plentifully. However, the coasts are distinguished by the particulars for which they are most eminent,

ment, and where these particular things are obtained in the greatest quantity.

At *Whydah* begins what we ordinarily call the *Slave Coast*; though, as before intimated, the *Portuguese* have a very great trade for slaves at the *Cape*, and the *Rio Grande*, and the *English* and *Dutch* also have the like on the *Gold Coast*.

The country called *Guiney*, as it ought properly to be understood, merits a much larger description than the limits to which this small tract is confined, will admit of. The *English* give all the country from their settlement at *Sierraleone* to that at *Whydah*, the name of *Guiney*; but how improperly need not be said.

The *Gold Coast* only is the *Guiney Proper*, as the gold brought from thence is properly called *Guinea* gold. The country itself is fertile, pleasant and salubrious: the heats, indeed, are excessive, as it lies five degrees north latitude. Yet the country on the coast is far from being barren, as the heats are from being insupportable: and the *European* factories enjoy much better health here than at some other settlements in a more northerly situation; such as at *Gambia* and *Sierraleone*. Those *Europeans*, who are prudent enough to keep themselves from the usual excesses of the country, preserve a good share of health while there, and return well and healthy.

Here are no very considerable rivers, because the situation of the coast being altered, and the course of the river here, coming from
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the neighbouring hills, and running north and south, there is no stream of longer course than about 200 miles. If the course was longer, the water would run the other way due north, and fall into the great river *Niger*, which runs from east to west, parallel with the *Guiney Coast*, and receives all the waters on both sides as it passes.

This seems to be the reason why the rivers on this side are small, and of a short course; the streams rapid in winter, in summer many of them dry: and this gives us a just idea of the trade in gold here, and particularly of its being found more easily in this part than in any other.

Notwithstanding, there are divers rivers upon this coast, though short in course; as that of *Aucobra*, which is very broad and shoal at the mouth, except after the freshes from the country have carried off the bar of sand, which blocks it up. After being entered, it has water enough for good sized vessels. The negroes have canoes on it, and come down in them with their gold and teeth to dispose off, from the inland parts.

There is another small river flows down through a part of the country, called *Boutry*; which also is the name of the river. This part of the country abounds in hills, enriched with beautiful and lofty trees. Its vallies are extensive, proper for the planting of all sorts of fruits; and if they were as well cultivated as watered by nature, would supply a great part

of the coast with eatables. The earth, near the coast, produces in abundance rice, millet, jambs, potatoes, and other fruits, all good in their kind: nor is the soil deficient in fruit trees. As for wine and oil, the palm-tree affords what excels in quantity as well as quality of both. This country would afford its cultivators as plentiful crops as they could desire; and is well supplied with various sorts of tame as well as wild beasts. The country, indeed, has been greatly neglected by the wars between the negroe princes; but it may again be easily restored to a state far superior to what it ever was, by proper *European* policy.

There is another river here called *Rio de St. Juan*, fit for small boats only to deliver ship's cargoes safe. It is useful to the *Europeans* to bring down from the inland parts timber, fuel and fruits, rice and corn for their subsistence, which this country affords in great plenty.—On this part of the coast, we meet with no good harbours for ships of 100 tons to ride: so that all ships which use the trade here, are obliged to come to anchor in the open sea, and trade with the negroes who come off to them.

From this part of the country the coast slopes away to the northward, and north-east, making the gulph of *Benin*. In this gulph, the coast of *Guiney*, and the several *European* settlements may be said to terminate, as well as their chief trade, whether for gold, teeth or slaves; the factory at *Whydah* being the farthest east, where any of the trading companies

nies have footing, at least till we come farther south.

Here the *Portuguese* dominions on the *African* coast may be said to begin: for the river *Benin*, the city and coast of *Angri*, and the *Rio Formosa*, are all under the government of *Portugal*; and the commerce there is wholly their own.

As to the course of the rivers, and what countries they run through, no satisfactory discoveries have yet been made any more than of the inland countries; nor is the head of any one of the rivers in *Africa* perfectly known, except the *Nile*; and even the accounts of that are very contradictory: so little have the nicest observers been able to penetrate into the heart of this extensive continent.

On the southern parts of this capacious continent, we find no greater satisfaction with respect to the great rivers; which have been discovered by their prodigious influx into the ocean; such as those of *Benin*, *Formosa*, the *Rio d'Esclavos*, *Rio des Camerones*, *Rio d'Angre*, *de Gabon*, *Rio de Zair*, or the *Congo*, &c. We have not been able to trace their head, nor the course they run; and are ignorant of the nations which inhabit their borders, and of the commerce or navigation carried on by them at any considerable distance from the coast.

Nor are we more knowing on the eastern side of *Africa*, where there are several noble large navigable rivers, whose currents are less rapid, and more adapted to navigation; as on the

coast of *Mozambique*, *Melinda*, and the adjacent countries.

It is, however, incredible to think what number of slaves are shipped off in this part of the country, comprehending the extent from the *Gold Coast* to *Benin*.

The town of *Great Benin*, up the river of the same name, which, though entirely inhabited by negroes, and having a king of their own, is eleven miles in circumference. The streets are spacious, kept very decent, and the government very orderly, and is said to have above an hundred thousand inhabitants.

Awerrri, is in the kingdom of *Benin*; but not subject to the same king, being in the particular government of the *Portuguese*, who have a strong castle here, a church and a monastery; and the monks as well here as in all the negro-kingdoms, under the *Portuguese* government in *Africa*, instruct the natives in the christian religion; which has greatly civilized them.

There is another town here called *Arebo*, which was formerly a place of great trade in slaves, as well for other nations as for the *Portuguese*; but, at present, the *Portuguese* have the chief, if not the only commerce here, as well as in almost all the more southern parts.

The coast and country of *Angola* and *Congo* begin at *Cape Formosa*; and from hence commences the great kingdom of *Loango*; which though generally accounted a part of the large kingdom of *Congo*, we shall speak of it separately.

rately. The river *Formosa* is navigable by good ships above 80 miles; and the *Portuguese* have several settlements upon it above 100 miles from the sea. It has innumerable smaller rivers running into it, many of which are also navigable; and all the banks are thronged with negroe-towns, exceeding populous, and the country is very fruitful. Though the natives and the *Portuguese*, who live farther within the country live very well; yet others, who have not such inland settlements frequently find this part very unhealthy.

The *English* and *Dutch* sometimes put in at *Cape Lopez*, but they make no great advantage; there being no settled commerce, but where the *Portuguese* have fixed their colonies. Opposite to this coast lie the three chief islands of *Angola*, which are likewise in possession of the *Portuguese*. And here the *Portuguese East Indiamen*, which do not come by the way of *Brasil*, put in for refreshment, as the *English* do at *St. Helena*.

The river *Congo* or *Zaira* is the most considerable in this part. On it's banks the *Portuguese* have established their government; and here resides in a spacious palace, their viceroy with great magnificence, at *St. Salvadore*, or the city of *Congo*. The palace itself is said to contain three churches; and in the city they have twelve churches and seven chapels, besides the cathedral; which, it is said, is very capacious, plain without, but extravagantly rich and

and splendid within. There are also several monasteries of religious.

The *Portuguese* have the whole commerce of this country, and in some places of the absolute government of it likewise; but we have no such accounts of the inland parts as may be depended on.

From the country of *Angola* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, we find no great traffic; and what there is belongs to the *Portuguese*.

The product of these countries that we are acquainted with on the coast, is almost of the same kind, or with very little variation. *Gold dust* is met with more or less at all the settlements before described.—*Slaves* or *negroes* also, are, by the unhappy fate of the country, purchased almost every where upon the whole coast, where the *Europeans* generally trade.—*Elephant's teeth* likewise afford a very beneficial commerce, and is extended through the whole coast, even on that of *Congo* and *Angola*, where gold is not; and the *Portuguese* get large quantities at *Quiloa* and *Mosambique*.—*Civet cats* is another article of this commerce; but this is divided chiefly between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese*.—There are *drugs* of various kinds; such as tamerinds, cardamums, wax, rich gums of divers sorts, as well as dying woods; such as red-wood, iron-wood, camwood, &c.

So highly beneficial has this commerce been formerly, that the returns in gold and slaves have been had for the meanest trifles imaginable;

able; such as bits of iron, painted glass, ordinary knives, hatchets, glass beads, and the cheapest toys and trinkets. We have an account among the records of the old *African* company, that one of the first *English* ships, which traded to *Africa* in *Queen Elizabeth's* time, brought away 170 pounds weight of gold dust; the goods with which the same was purchased, not amounting, as valued in *England*, besides the charges on board, to £250 sterling: Whereas the gold brought in return at that time, amounted to above £14000, besides the ivory, and other things of value.

Formerly this trade was carried on upon the high seas; and we find, by several journals of voyages to the coast of *Guinea*, in the time of *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James*, that the ships came to the Offing, and lay by for the negroes, who came to them in canoes, and brought their gold, and exchanged it with the captains and supercargoes for such trifles as they had to sell. These traders in general made every advantageous voyages in those days; and yet they bought no slaves, the *English* then having no colonies to carry them to: *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, and the rest of the *Leeward Islands*, were not discovered; nor was *Virginia*: The *Spaniards* had, indeed, possession in *New Spain*; but they would not suffer the *English* or others to come thither with their negroes. Wherefore, the *English* carried on only the direct commerce to and from

from *Africa*, which greatly enriched them, independently of the connection with *America*.

At present this trade is carried on under a great increase of stock ; daily improvements of many kinds are made in the commerce ; where one ship went to the coast of *Africa*, before we possessed our colonies in *America*, we have now forty. The course of the trade also is greatly altered ; for now few ships go to the coast to return directly to *Great-Britain* : They at present, take in slaves, then go away to the *West-Indies*, dispose of them there, and return freighted with *sugars*, *tobacco*, *rice*, and other of our valuable plantation commodities.

Nor are the negroes now on the coast of *Africa* those extreme ignorant savages, and unpolished people, they formerly were : On the contrary, besides being well informed in the value of *European* goods, they are grown subtle and knavish, by instructions from the *Europeans* themselves ; for they will sometimes attempt to impose adulterated for pure gold ; but having suffered in their traffic, by such like roguish arts, they seldom practice them at present.

Near the coast, gold is generally found in hills, rivers, and the sea shore. The negroes have this metal wholly in their own power ; the *Europeans* cannot come at a grain without them ; and so great, as observed, is the ignorance of the negroes at present, with respect to the *discovery*, and the *working of their mines*, that the quantities hitherto brought down to the

the coast, have been extremely trifling and insignificant, in comparison to what may be done. In the year 1725, a computation was made of the quantity of gold brought from the coast of *Africa*, by the *Europeans* then trading thither; which amounted in the whole to about £300,000 sterling.

The value of slaves is estimated by their number; which has been reckoned at above 100,000 every year, including the whole trade of all the other nations, except that of the *Portuguese* to *Brazil*; and 100,000 rated, by average, at £20 *per* head; which (as the price of negroes now goes) is too low, amount to two millions *per* Annum: And the *Portuguese*, if we may credit their own accounts, do not carry away for their own share, so little as 100,000 more: So that the returns of this part of the trade are prodigiously to the advantage of the *European* nations, since the value exported from *Europe* to purchase all this production, as well gold as ivory, slaves and drugs, &c. has been computed at less than £300,000 *per* annum first cost: Whereby for between 3 and £400,000 in goods exported, the *European* trades are reckoned to return above two millions and an half sterling; and the *Portuguese* reap very great advantage also by this commerce. For all the coast of *Africa*, from *Whydah* exclusive, and the river *Lagos* in the gulph of *Benin*, is wholly possessed, as to the commerce, by the *Portuguese*; and a very large possession it is, extending above 1600

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miles in length, and in some parts 250 miles up the country, according to the account of the *Portuguese* themselves. Their trade in this country, is wholly for slaves to work the gold and diamond mines in *Brazil*; for gold here they have none, and little ivory.

In this part of the country, the *Portuguese* have the advantage of the trade beyond all the other *European* nations, with relation to the slave trade. For here they are not on the coast merely as a *factory*, as the other nations are, but they possess the country as a *colony* of their own, and command all the slaves that are to be had, by keeping the negroe kings and chiefs under their dominion.

The principal places where the ships put in for trade, and take their slaves on board, are the *Rio Formosa*, where the *Portuguese* have not only a fort, but the fortified town of *Arebo*, and constantly a good garrison. They have also the *Rio de Benin*, running through the kingdom of that name: and here the *Portuguese* also have a fort, with a harbour for their shipping; and, by commanding the country, they command the whole trade. They have besides *Rio del Rei*, *Rio de Camerones*, and the old and new *Calabari*. They have likewise the islands called *Princes Island*, *Fernando Po*, and the two *Corisco's*, besides that of *St. Thoma*. In all of which islands the *Portuguese* have some considerable commerce.

South of the *Corisco*, lies the river *Gambo* or *Gambon*; which is safe, spacious and navigable.

This

This is much frequented by the *Portuguese*; most of their ships come hither to repair and careen; here being very good places to lye on ground at low water, especially at the smaller of the two islands. The commerce here is considerable in wax, honey, elephant's teeth, and drugs. The *Dutch* also frequent this river to clean and repair their ships, especially the interlopers, who are not allowed to ride under the shelter of the forts and castles belonging to the *Dutch African Company*. But the *Portuguese* will not allow them to trade with the country up the river, for any thing but provisions. This country is thronged with infinite numbers of buffaloes, large wild boars and elephants.

The *Dutch*, however, as well as the *Portuguese*, trade considerably on this coast, though the former do it rather by stealth or force, than by permission; for the *Portuguese* do all they can to hinder them: Whence it is, that tho' the *Zealand* interlopers run away with a good share of this trade; yet they get no slaves here, the *Portuguese* by their inland settlements intercepting all before they come down to the coast.

The *Portuguese* have, as it were, the sole trade of the countries of *Congo*, *Mozamba*, and *Loango*. They are possessed of the two capital cities of *St. Salvadore*, and *St. Paul de Loanda*; the latter on the coast, the other near 200 miles within the country; which they have so christianized in their way, that

the barbarous paganism is here pretty much eradicated. So considerable is the slaves trade here, that the natives are all in absolute subjection to the *Portuguese*; and it is frequent in the city of *St. Salvadore*, for one *Portuguese* to have 1000 or 1500 slaves; and as they are his property, so are the children born of them; who, as they grow up, are sold, as we do cattle to the market, to the factors, who come over from the *Brazils* for that purpose.

In exchange for these they receive *European* goods, woollen, silk and linen; liquors of all sorts, especially *Portugal* brandy and spirits; also *East-India* goods, arms and ammunition for their hunting; for the country here abounds with elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, wolves, and divers other wild beasts, whose fine skins, frequently make part of the cargo for the merchant to make his returns in.

The *English* and *Dutch* have of late years got a little footing in the trade at *Loango*, upon the coast of *Angola*. They buy many slaves here, the *Portuguese* having no power equal to what they have in other parts of that coast. We vend here considerable quantities of buffs, *Guinea* stuffs, calicoes, with perrets and serges, with abundance of toys, beads, cowries, and the like: And it is reckoned that we buy slaves cheaper here than upon any part of the *African* coast; though not being esteemed so stout and robust, may not prove so in effect.

Thus

Thus far the commerce of the *Portuguese*, and other *European* nations extends, and is carried on by the means of forts and settlements on the coast: All the country south from *Cape Negroe* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, affords nothing material, in regard to trade; it being all wild, savage and mountainous, and the sea coast hardly inhabited; or if it is, the people rarely appear when ships come upon the coast. Here may, notwithstanding, be valuable productions, or the land may be capable of them.

We have here a succinct account of the general nature of the coast trade of *Africa* from *Cape Blanco* to the *Cape of Good Hope*: We shall next give a brief state of the inland commerce, as far as the same has hitherto been discovered for a few hundred miles within the country; and touch upon some methods, whereby the traffic of this part of the globe may be advanced, for the benefit of the subjects of *Great-Britain* in particular.

To the north of the gulph of *St. Anne*, the country is almost desolate and uninhabited; the natives being found of a very savage and treacherous nature, the *Europeans* have neglected to make any great enquiries about their country. But to the southward of this gulph, and over the river, we find a country populous. Though they live in huts and low buildings, yet they are erected in a regular manner in rows, forming streets and squares. The temper, behaviour and customs of those
negroes

negroes are widely different from their neighbours to the north ; they are a plain, simple honest people, offer no injury to any one ; they desire trade, giving what they have to spare with great freedom, and receiving what they want with satisfaction. The people here being of a sociable and commercial disposition, the *Europeans* might, perhaps, easily prevail on them to take an inland survey of the produce of their country, to mutual advantage. The *French* have for several years reaped the benefit of commerce with these people, by their settlement at *Arguin*.

The river *Senagal* being, as observed, a large and considerable river, and of great extent in its course, has supplied the *French* with their most important commerce. But if it is derived from the same source with the *Nile*, it will then cross almost the whole country of *Africa*, where it is widest, and will have a course of near 50 degrees from east to west, exclusive of its windings. Though its entrance is narrow and sometimes difficult, by reason of its bar and sandy shoals ; yet 8 or 10 leagues up, it is broad and deep, and fit to carry large vessels ; and except about 5 or 6 leagues on each side above the mouth, which is a sandy and barren ground, all the rest, as far as the lake *Maberia*, the banks are covered with stately fruit trees and villages, and the country well watered, and very fertile for a great way ; for like the *Nile*, it overflows the country for many leagues, and greatly enriches the land,
and

and would do so still more, if the *Europeans* instructed the natives to make all the advantage they might easily do : but that is not the case, though the people on both sides the river chuse to live as near as they can to it, and feed great herds of cattle, and sow their large and small millet in great quantities, and with large increase.

The river *Senagal*, receiving many considerable rivers in its course, swells high enough to be able at all times to carry vessels of 40 or 50 tons and upwards. It also splitting itself into several branches, which re-unite again ; it waters very large and fertile islands, well filled with towns, villages and inhabitants. It also forms several noble streams from the great one ; such as the *Saguerai*, which parts from the *Senagal* a little below *Ouetesour*, and after a south-west course of 50 or 60 leagues, joins itself to the *Gios* or *Little Brae*, which part from the great stream about nine leagues below that, and both these rejoin it a little below *Guidon*.

Between these are likewise formed some considerable islands of great extent. The largest, for number of towns and trade is *Begnio*, or *Befeche*, situate between the great stream, and the branch of its name, called *Corow* river, about 35 leagues in length ; in some parts 12 or 15 in breadth, and intersected with a great number of smaller streams and canals, which makes it resembling to a group of small isles, covered with palm and other fruit trees, and other verdure, as well as towns and villages.

lages. This island reaches almost to the mouth of the great river.

Above that is another called the island of *Morphil*, and is eighty leagues in length, and about eight or ten in breadth, and hath a number of large villages upon it well-peopled, and who carry on a considerable commerce in elephant's teeth. Adjacent to that is another, called *Bilbas*, about 30 leagues long, and five or six broad. It is very populous, and the negroes drive a large commerce in ivory and gold dust. These islands of *Morphil* and *Bilbas* belong to the kingdom of *Firatic*, or *Fullis*, whose prince and inhabitants are very obliging to strangers. They abound with variety of curious vegetables, and breed large quantities of cattle of divers kinds, as well as other animals, and fowls in abundance. They have also plenty of cotton, which they manufacture as well as they can.

"The *Niger* or *Senagal*," says *Monf. Labat*,
 "is one of the most considerable rivers in
 "Africa: without speaking of what it is be-
 "yond the lake of *Bournou*, which is in 42
 "degrees of longitude; from that lake to the
 "sea is 800 leagues. The ancient geogra-
 "phers say that it is a branch of the *Nile*, and
 "that these two rivers come from the same
 "head. *Pliny* is of this opinion, and one of
 "his reasons is, that the banks produce the
 "same plants and animals. If this argument
 "were allowed, we might by it prove, that
 "the river *Amazons* and *Janeiro*, and all the
 "other

“ other rivers in *America*, came from the same
 “ *Nile*, since they produce crocodiles as well
 “ as it.

“ The most that we could now learn is from
 “ the negroe-merchants of the kingdom of
 “ *Mundingo*: their accounts are not so exact
 “ as to be quite positive: and we cannot but
 “ suppose that in the accounts they give they
 “ will say nothing that can prejudice their
 “ commerce, or excite the *Europeans* to break
 “ in upon their trade. What is certain, and
 “ so certain that it admits of no doubt, is, that
 “ the kingdom of *Gallam*, above the fort of
 “ St. JOSEPH, abounds in MINES OF GOLD, as
 “ do the kingdoms of *Gago* and *Tombulo*, which
 “ lie above that upon the same river.

“ We are assured, and it is credible enough,
 “ that in the 20th degree of longitude the *Ni-*
 “ *ger* is much larger than it is below, and it
 “ there forms a very considerable lake; and
 “ leaving that lake, divides itself into two
 “ branches; the one running due west, is
 “ called the *Senagal*, the other running south
 “ west, is called the *Gambia*. The latter di-
 “ vides itself again, and the southern stream of
 “ it is called St. *Domingo*; and that again pro-
 “ duces a fourth, called *Rio Grande*: these
 “ two last are divided again, and fall through
 “ several channels into the sea, which form
 “ the islands of *Bissaux*, *Binagots*, *Bonlam* and
 “ *Busry*, and many others.”

I have not leisure, at present, to describe the
 whole commerce that this river will admit of.

I shall, therefore, only observe in general, that here certainly offers a favourable prospect of a very lucrative inland trade, if it is prosecuted with judgment and resolution; a commerce that has been very artfully concealed, though industriously cultivated by the *French*. Yet even the *French* themselves have acknowledged that their *India* company have not made less of the trade of this river than 300,000*l.* sterling *per annum*: and if the *English* should not be obliged to give up this *new conquest*, they may probably extend its trade to a degree beyond what the *French* have really done.

The river *Gambia* (of which the *English* have had the chief possession by virtue of their forts and factories) has different kingdoms upon its banks; as the *Mundings*, the *Jollifs*, the *Pholeys*, the *Floops*, and a bastard *Portuguese*.

The most numerous are the *Mundings*, who are the greatest travellers, and most skilful traders, and their country is of the largest extent. It lies to the south of the *Gambia*; on the west it borders on the kingdom of *Kabo*; on the south it has *Melli*, and the mountains that divide it from *Guiney*; on the east it extends to the kingdom of *Gago*.

The *Portuguese* have various factories among the *Mundings*; and it is the general opinion, that among the negroes called *Balantes*, there are *gold mines*, which is the reason why they will not suffer any person to come into their country; apprehending they may be driven
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from thence, and made slaves of, *if it were known how rich their country is.*

On the north side of the *Gambia*, and from inland is the nation of *Jolloifs*, whose country is vastly large, and extends even to the river *Senegal*. This affords divers valuable commodities, as well as slaves. These are a fierce savage people, and perpetually at war with their neighbours, and their chief traffic is in the sale of their captives for slaves.

The *Pholeys* are a people that live in clans, build towns, and are not subject to any kings of the country, though they dwell in their dominions; for if they are ill treated in one nation, they break up their towns and remove to another. They are the reverse of the *Jolloifs*, being of a very good and pacific disposition, and value themselves upon their principles of justice and sobriety, being strict *Mahometans*. As the princes in whose countries these people reside use little land themselves, they permit the *Pholeys* to cultivate it, who are great planters. They raise cotton, *Indian* corn, maize, rice; the larger and smaller *Guiney* corns. Being very industrious and frugal, and raising much more than they consume, they sell the surplus to their neighbouring nations, who think it a blessing to have such well-disposed people near them. Their principle traffic consists in the vegetable produce of lands, and some gold, but they abominate the slave trade; neither making prisoners of others, or suffering themselves to be made such for that purpose.

A little way inland, to the south of the *Gambia*, are the *Floops*, who are a wild sort of people. They are adjacent to the *Atandingoes*, and frequently at war with them, and thereby increase the slave trade on all sides.

The *English* have divers factories up the river *Gambia*, besides their principal one at *James Fort*, as we have before noticed. But we know but little of this river above *Barracunda*. The tide flows up this river 20 leagues above *Barracunda*. Ships of 300 tons can come fifty leagues up it, and vessels of 150 tons can reach near *Barracunda*, which is 250 leagues from the sea.

The first country we meet with on the south of the *Gambia* is that of *Cumbo*, noted for plenty of fowl, goats and cattle. Here the *English* frequently purchase provisions for their settlement at *James Fort* and others. The river *Vintain* is navigable several leagues up this river, and its mouth about a mile over, and three leagues above *James Fort*. The town of *Vintain* affords plenty of provisions; it also produces large quantities of bees wax.

Without enumerating the various places of trade up this river, we need only observe for our purpose, that the chief trade is in gold, slaves, elephants teeth and bees-wax. The natives are very unwilling to discover much of the inland countries, from a jealousy that their gold mines should be once discovered by the *Europeans* and wrested out of their hands.

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There is another branch of commerce here, which might prove of considerable advantage to *Great Britain*, if it were properly pursued; and that is the gum-trade, of which commodities they might have large quantities brought to *Fatatenda*; from whence it might be carried by water to *James Fort* at small expence: but the gums here are said to be of a different kind to that of the *Gum Senagal*.

Upon all the chief rivers that have been before described, we find very little difference in the nature of the product and commerce; and therefore, the inland trade that we are at all acquainted with, is much of the same kind, and not necessary to be repeatedly mentioned.

We shall, therefore, only observe, that were this country planted by the *Europeans* in colonies and settled habitations, towns and cities built, and people brought over to inhabit as in the *American* plantations, something like what the *Portuguese* have already done in *Africa*, the whole commerce of this part of the world might in all probability, be considerably more extended among those people than it has ever yet been: and thereby a more satisfactory knowledge of the country obtained; for by this means we may bring the natives to become so civilized as to clothe, and to live more and more according to the *European* mode; and thereby have a proportionate demand for our commodities of every kind: and this encrease of the consumption would excite the natives to be more active and industrious

ous in the search of all valuable products to barter with us in return. The *Dutch* have set us an engaging example of this kind in the *East Indies*: by bringing the natives there to a liking of the way of living of the civilized nations, they have surprisingly encreased the vent of numberless *European* commodities in *Asia*; which never found their way thither, till these propagators of trade and navigation fell into this policy: and to encourage others to follow the like, we have seen the example of the *Portuguese*, who have extensive colonies in *Africa*, and very great sway, influence and dominions over many of the countries adjacent to their settlements.

It will be objected very probably, to the planting of colonies by the *Europeans* in *Africa*, that there is no encouragement to plant and settle here: that the climate is so exceeding hot that it will not suffer any thing to grow; that the want of rain in summer, and an excess in winter, will destroy all the labour of the most industrious; that the soil is burnt up, and therefore it would be to no purpose to attempt planting, and much less the building of towns and cities, and carrying over inhabitants for that purpose.

Objections of this kind do not seem to be unanswerable. To say the country is barren, and will not produce, is to contradict the testimony of undoubted authority, and give the lie to the assertions of numbers of men of veracity, who have lived on the spot, and who
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all concur in the contrary representation. And indeed it is acknowledged on all hands, that many of those importations, which we have been habituated to, the merchants of *Europe* might supply themselves with from other countries in the like latitude, by causing them to be planted and cultivated in such places, where we have great reason to believe they would grow, and that to advantage.

Africa seems to be the country where many species of commodities might be brought to perfection; and turn to far greater private as well as national emolument than to have them from *Asia*. For here we are within six weeks sail, in the very latitude of *Borneo*, of the *Celebes*, of *Banda* and *Ternate*, of *Batavia* and *Bencoolen*: and we can make no doubt but here might be produced nutmegs, cloves and pepper, as well as in any of those other places, the soil being as good, the heats as intense, the dews as strong: in a word, the earth, the air, the sun, all the same: why not then the productions? Why may not here be raised the *coffee tree* from *mocha*, the *cinnamon tree* from *ceylon*? And we have no reason to doubt but the *tea* and *sago* from *China* might be produced here.

But to this end we must pitch upon the proper situations, and such as are suitable to the thing designed: without which, no country may be said to be fruitful. We see many large places, even in *England* itself, and in the southern

thern parts of it too, near *London*, where the lands are counted the richest and most fruitful; and yet, though there was ever so much husbandry and diligence used upon some of them, those lands would no way answer the industry and culture; as *Bagshot-heath*, for example, *Windsor Forest*, and several other open pieces of ground on that side of the country; and the like in many other parts.

On the other hand, if suitable measures were taken in *Africa*, and proper situations as well as soil pitched up for improvements, it has been experienced that pimento, cocoa, cotton and ginger would all not only grow, but come to perfection, and produce as profitably, and as much to the encouragement of the planter in the country upon the *Coast of Guiney*, as in *America*; and that not only about *Sherbro*, *Sierraleone*, and the coast of *Arguin*, from the latitude of 11 to 18, which may be called the same climate with *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*, but upon the coast of *Melegatte*, the *Grain* or the *Gold-Coast*: and the experiment has been tried at *Cape-Coast* as well as at *Cape Three Points*.

The prudence to be used in this case is, to chuse a proper situation for such attempts; which may be confined under the following points. (1) That the soil be suitable, of which there is plenty over the whole country: viz. a loamy fat earth, or a red kind of bole, like the soil of some lands in *Brazil*, which are known to be very fruitful: or a mild sandy clay, of which there is no want on the coast
of

of *Guinea*, and in *Benin* in particular, which is the same with the *Spice islands* of *Banda* and *Ternate*. 2. That it lie upon or near some river; so that, if possible, in case of drought it may be flowed by the help of art, by stopping and raising the waters in those rivers, and drawing small streams from them to water their plantations, as we see often done to advantage, and sometimes with little labour and expence. (3) By so chusing the lands, that in the winter or rainy seasons, the glut of water may run off by drains into lower grounds, or into rivers; and so likewise that when the rivers swell with those rains, the planted grounds may not be drown'd, so as to be too long under water.

In this country, as in most others, it is certain, that lands may be so chosen as to situation, that they may enjoy all these advantages: And if so, it is not to be doubted but we might here produce all the *spices* of *Asia*, as well as their *coffee*, *tea*, and divers other of their costly productions: We might also have numerous other productions here, which we cannot so cheaply raise in our own colonies in *America*; as *silk* and *wine*, &c. But I would have nothing raised here that should by any means interfere with the interest of our present *American* colonies.—And it is a great inducement to attempt these things within 20 or 30 days sail of our own country.

The country, though in the center of the torrid zone, is infinitely more fruitful than

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any of the northern parts of *Africa*, the gold coast only excepted, which is contiguous to some of it. The soil, notwithstanding the great heat, is rich, soft and moist; every where almost abounding with springs, as well as watered with innumerable rivers and streams: The plants it produces from the instructions given the natives by the *Portuguese*, are improved, and abundance of those of *Europe* introduced among them; which other negroe countries are quite ignorant of. It has not been the least part of the policy of the *Portuguese* clergy, to teach the natives how to cultivate and improve the product of the earth, and supply them with delicious fruits and plants; such as they knew nothing of before, and extremely better their way of living; as particularly figs, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, and many other fruits, as well nourishing to nature, and pleasant to the palate.

Though we have no minute account of any inland communication of commerce in this quarter of the world; yet they tell us, from good authority, that there is a yearly or half yearly caravan, from the country properly called *Guinea*, and that there is a very great trade carried on between that part of *Africa*, and the *Mauritanian* countries, quite to the *Mediterranean*: that the commerce brings in return the growth of the *Moorish Africa*, and all the *European* manufactures and importations, which the *Moors* receive on the coast of *Barbary*, from *England*,
Holland,

Holland, France, Portugal and Spain; as also *East India* goods, wrought glass, iron, brass, pewter, &c.

This caravan, they inform us, consists of above 2000 camels; that they set out from a considerable *Negro* town, above 400 miles north from the *Quaqua* coast of *Guinea*, whether the negroes of many nations come as to a great mart or fair; and where they bring gold, ivory, drugs, wax, civet, and every valuable thing the land can produce, and exchange them for the *European* goods, which the caravan brings back. They carry generally 5 or 6000 slaves also. Among the rest of *European* goods, which they carry in this great caravan, they mention in particular, many hundred pieces of *English* broad cloth, generally dyed red, blue and yellow.

This caravan delivers its cargo at *Fez*, from whence the Jews, who are the chief merchants, disperse the goods to other places, and furnish the caravans with returns. If the rout they give us for the passing of this caravan is right, they never come within 5 or 600 miles of the sea coast, till they arrive near the city of *Fez*.

Another part of the inland commerce of *Africa*, is that of bringing gold and slaves to the coast of *Guinea*, which is done along way by land, and requires a much greater commerce, than we have yet any satisfactory knowledge of. The farthest account we have of the negroes coming from within land to trade on the *Guinea* coast, is of their travelling about 400

miles from the country called *Assantia*, which is much the largest.—That their King is the most powerful of any that is known to the *Europeans*: That he permits none of the natives beyond him to pass through his country, but obliges them to traffic only with his subjects. This country extends itself on the back of the whole gold coast. The use of fire arms is not known beyond the country of *Assantia*; nor have they other weapons than lances, bows and arrows.

The King's subjects pass through six or seven kingdoms to come to the sea side to trade, and are often plundered by the people, through whose country they travel; which has occasioned frequent quarrels and wars: and this obliges the *Assantians* to travel in large bodies.—The commodities they bring are gold dust, elephants teeth and slaves; The first of which they trade for with other nations, and chiefly with two kingdoms called *Akim* and *Acania*, in which are found great quantities of gold.—The *Assantians* tell us, they trade 4 or 500 miles farther within land, with a sort of yellow people, who have good houses with flat roofs; but they will not suffer any to come into them, but deal with them at a distance, and chiefly for salt, which those yellow people pay for in fine pieces of striped silk.—These we may suppose are the *Moors* of the north part of *Africa*, who are tawny, and which they call yellow coloured.

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The *Egyptians*, by what method soever it is carried on, have some commerce with the country south upon the *Nile*; and receive several articles from them, especially drugs and gold: But whether this commerce extends so far as into the country of *Ethiopia*, is not certain.

From this sketch of the inland commerce, added to that described on the coast of *Africa*, we can make no doubt but the same is capable of very extraordinary improvement. The climate on the west coast is sufficiently known. The soil is good in most places, very fruitful, well watered, notwithstanding the heat of the climate.—Though the *Europeans* have reaped great, very great advantages by the coast trade; yet none, except the *Portuguese*, have made any use at all of the *land*; the fruitful soil lies waste, a very extended country, pleasant valleys, banks of fine rivers, spacious plains, capable of cultivation to unspeakable benefit, in all probability remain, fallow and unnoticed: Why do not the *Europeans* enclose such lands for cultivation, as by their nature and situation appear proper for beneficial productions?

Let the same climates be examined in other parts of the world; and the soil of them compared with that in the same latitude on this coast; and if no visible difference is found in them, why should they not produce the same plants, fruits and drugs? Why should not whatever grows in the one, be planted, grow and produce in the other?

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The coffee berry is naturally produced at *Mocha*, in the latitude of 13 to 14 degrees. This induced the *Dutch* to plant the coffee trade in the island of *Java*, near the city of *Batavia*, where it thrives as well as at *Mocha*. They have done the like at *Surinam*, on the north coast of south *America*.—The *Portuguese* have began the same on the coast of *Brazil*; and have began lately to raise *rice* by negroe labour.—The *French* also have planted *coffee* at their colony of *Port Dauphin* on the island of *Madagascar*.

If at *Batavia* and *Surinam* in latitude 5 to 6 deg.: if at *Mocha*, in latitude 14 deg.: if at *Port Dauphin*, in latitude 14 deg.; why will not coffee thrive at *Cape Coast* and at *Acra*, in latitude 5 to 6 deg.? And, why not upon all the grain coast, tooth coast, gold coast, and slave coast, where the *English* have a free possession, strength for protection and soil for production?

With respect to the planting of *tea*: We know that the tea is chiefly produced in the provinces of *Xentung*, *Nankin* and *Canton*, and in the islands of *Japan*, most of it between the latitudes of 30 and 24 deg. north of the line. With how much greater advantage of climate, may we presume the same plant might be produced at *Sierraleone*, and on the gold coast?

We need say little of the benefits of raising such a profitable plant so near home: and there is little difficulty, perhaps, in making
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the experiment.—We are told, that a large plant of *tea* has throve to admiration in the garden of *Cape Coast Castle*.

But one would imagine, that the lucrative article of spices, that interferes with no other branches of our commerce, should be temptation sufficient to rouse our industry.—The Clove is found in the island of *Borneo* at *Gilolo*, and several other islands, from the latitudes of 2 to 7 deg. which is exactly the climate of our gold coast.—The Cinnamon is found in *Ceylon*, in the latitudes of 6 to 7 deg. and falls in also with our coast; and we can see no reason why the same climate on the shore of *Africa*, may not, by the help of art, produce the same fruit.—The *Nutmeg*, indeed, is found only at *Banda*, and some small islands almost under the line; and so it may be doubtful, whether this may thrive, except in the same latitude, which is further south than any of our settlements in *Africa*: But the trial might with ease be made of that too.

Numbers of *Europeans* being once settled on the sea coast, would soon spread the commerce into the inland nations, and employ and enrich the inhabitants, by instructing them in the arts of living, as well as of trade and minerology; which leads to a view of one of the greatest scenes of commercial improvement: which is—

That there needs little more than to instruct the barbarous nations in all our colonies, factories, &c. in the arts of living handsomely,

handsomely, clothing with decency, not going brutally naked; dwelling in towns and cities, with oeconomy and civil government, and not like savages.

Before commerce took effect amongst mankind, the human species in general were little better than brutes of the first class: but trade and navigation exciting to the advancement of arts and sciences necessary thereto, *These* have naturally civilized men: and as they have encreased in civilized polity, commerce in general has in its turn proportionally augmented. This is fact indisputable. For what has been the consequence of civilizing the *American* savages, who inhabited the countries on the back of the *Europeans*, settled in *North America*? Has not the like consequence attended those on the *French* side at *Quebec* and *Canada*?

The natives of those parts, before the *Europeans* came among them, had, in the words of a late writer, neither houses, cattle, cloths, tools, weapons, ammunition, or household stuff: their cattle were the beasts of the forest, their apparel, their skins, their weapons, bows, wooden swords, clubs, javelins and darts, pointed with teeth and bones of fish; their houses hovels and huts; their household stuff, earthen pans hardned in the sun; their beds, mats and skins laid on the ground; they could strike no fire, but by rubbing sticks together: they had neither edged or other tools, they having no iron, steel, brass or lead; neither grind-stone or mill stones; their meat

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was flesh dried in the sun, and their drink no other than cold water.

The same *Indians*, even those remaining wild and savage almost as before; yet being convinced by their conveniencies, and prompted by their necessities, serve themselves of us with an infinite number of things, for the abundant accommodation of life; and those that are more civilized do the like to a far greater extent; and the more and more civilized they grow, the greater vent we shall have for our commodities: this has created a commerce reciprocally beneficial. They sell us their deer-skins, bear-skins, fox and beaver, and other furs, which we call peltry, and is a very valuable branch of trade: with their peltry they purchase our woollen manufactures for their clothing, such as duffels, blankets, half-ticks, kerfies, and such coarse goods; and also others of leather, with which they dress and keep themselves warm in the coldest season: they also buy caps, stockings, hats, shoes, gloves, for the same hard weather.

In order to provide for their fuel and food, they buy of us for the latter, fire arms and ammunition, and for the other, hatchets, axes, knives, bills, as also spades, shovels, pick-axes, and other tools fitted for their work, and for the building and furnishing houses to dwell in: they buy all kind of edged tools, as likewise nails, spikes, hammers, saws, chisels, &c. wrought iron of divers sorts; as hooks, hinges, locks, bolts, and numerous other things: for their

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household

household stuff, they sometimes buy chairs, stools, beds, bedsteads, and the like; also pots, casks, and other vessels of earth, pewter, brass, and wood; and in a word, every thing they want of plain things, which art or trade can supply them with.

These mutual dealings create a commerce; and as these demands increase, the trade and commerce of *Europe* must increase; for the increase of civilized people, occasions a proportionate increase of traffic, let the degree of their demands be more or less.

It becomes, therefore, a fundamental principle in our commercial policy to increase the colonies of our own nation in all the remote parts where it is proper and practicable; and to civilize and instruct the natives of those countries, so as to bring them by the softest and gentlest methods to fall into the *European* customs and usages, and incorporate among our people as one nation.

We say nothing of christianizing the savages; 'tis remote from our present purpose; and perhaps, remote from our practice in most places; but we speak of an incorporation of customs and usages, as may in time bring them to live like christians, whether they may turn such or no.

To bring this home to the coast and country of *Africa*: let people calculate the improvements proposed in business, in planting, fishing, shipping. and all the necessary employ-
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ments that would attend a public improved colony; and let then any one judge, if the consequence would not augment the consumption of manufactures among a people where there was none before, and in a place where we had no commerce to carry on before.

The trade carried on by the *Europeans* to *Africa* is nothing in comparison to what it will admit of; and therefore it is not to be admired that the people are still savage, and barbarous; for it is certain that commerce with other nations as well as within themselves, has a natural tendency to polish and humanize mankind in general; and, in consequence thereof, government has been established. Among those nations destitute of trade, we find the whole race of men but a small remove above the brute creation. If we contemplate the state of our own nation, before we had traffic with others, and compare ourselves then with what we are at present, there will appear to be almost as much difference as there is now between some of the barbarian countries and our own. It follows, therefore, that no consideration drawn from the barbarous state of the *Africans* should discourage our efforts to cultivate and extend our commerce amongst them to the utmost.

F I N I S.

E R R A T U M.

In Page 14. for Bank of *Lana*, read Bank of *Sand*.

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